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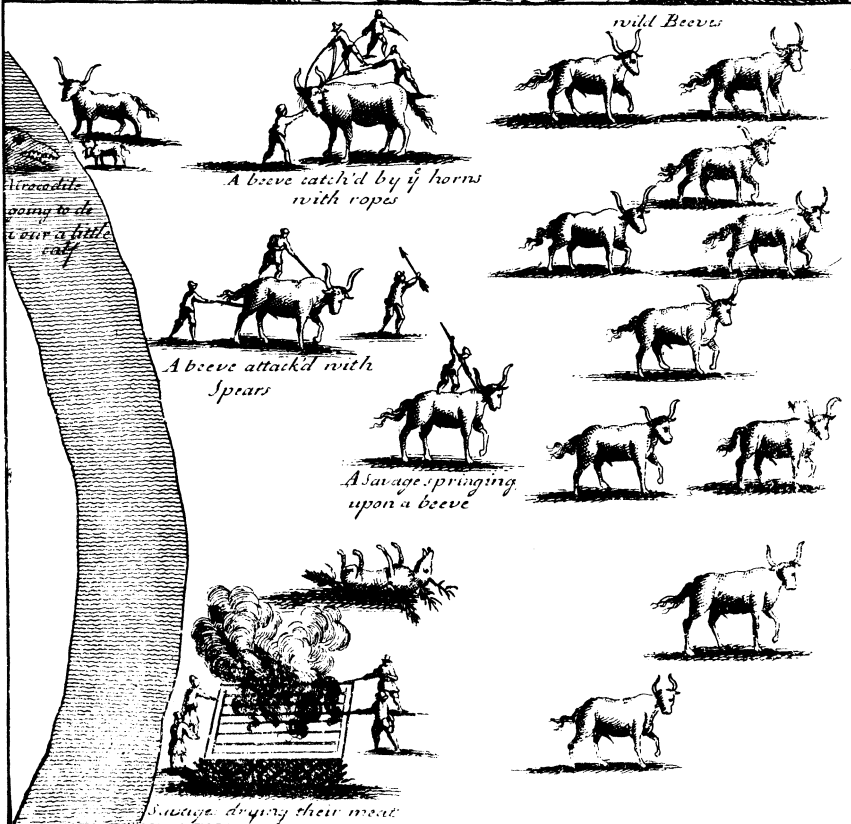








*A Beaver 25 inches long from the  
head to the tail*



# NEW VOYAGES TO NORTH-AMERICA

BY THE  
BARON DE LAHONTAN

*Reprinted from the English edition of 1703, with facsimiles of  
original title-pages, maps, and illustrations, and the  
addition of Introduction, Notes, and Index*

By Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL.D.

*Editor of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," Hennepin's  
"New Discovery," etc.*

**In Two Volumes**

VOLUME I

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## INTRODUCTION

**I**N the frontier department of the Basse-Pyrénées, once a part of the ancient province of Béarn, on gently-undulating hillsides which occupy middle ground between the broad-stretching pastures and marshes of the Landes and the over-topping escarpments of the Pyrénées, lies the pleasant little village of Lahontan. A community of twelve hundred souls, it boasts of an interesting history, but is now almost unknown in its dreamy isolation, save that the scholar may remember that it was once the fief of the illustrious Montaigne.

About the middle of the seventeenth century, Lahontan was erected into a barony, of which Isaac de Lom, Sieur d'Arce, the father of our author, was the second baron. The

Lahontan's father. Sieur d'Arce was famous as a civil engineer, having made the port of Bayonne navigable for sea-going vessels (1630-48). As a recompense for this and certain military services, Louis XIV granted to him and his heirs forever (1658) a monopoly of navigation and transportation in the harbor of Bayonne, and a pension of three thousand livres per annum for a dozen years; in later years, he was made reformer-general of Béarn, a councillor of the parlement of Navarre, a chevalier of St. Michel, and a bourgeois of Bayonne.

His first wife (Jeanne Guérin), with whom he had lived for fifteen years, having died in 1663 without issue, he con-

tracted in his old age a second marriage, this time with  
 Birth of Jeanne-Françoise le Fascheux de Couttes. To them  
 our author. was born at Lahontan, the ninth of June, 1666,  
 Louis-Armand, whose book of adventurous travel in the  
 heart of North America we are here reprinting. The infant  
 was presented at the baptismal font by no less personages  
 than the Comte de Guiche, then governor of Béarn, and his  
 sister, the Marquise de Lons,—a distinguished welcome to  
 the stage of life, in strong contrast to the experiences  
 incident to his departure.

When young Louis was but eight years old, his father died  
 at the age of eighty. Honors and wealth had accompanied  
 Baron Isaac until about the time of his son's birth; there-  
 A shattered after, he became involved in the toils of obligations  
 estate. incurred by his great engineering operations, and of  
 the lawsuits incidental thereto. The son inherited the title of  
 Le Baron de Lahontan et Heselèche (to-day, d'Esleich), and a  
 shattered estate which went from bad to worse. It is small  
 wonder that one of the characteristic features of his *Voyages*  
 is an unquenchable bitterness against lawyers and legal pro-  
 cesses.

After the fashion of the times, the third baron had from  
 his cradle been destined for the army; and while still a child,  
 family influence secured for him a cadetship in the famous  
 Bourbon regiment. Later, in the effort to secure for the  
 Dedicated to young nobleman a more rapid advancement, he  
 the army. was entered as a "garde" in the marine corps—  
 the Department of the Marine being then entrusted with the

care of colonies. From earliest boyhood, Louis had heard much of Canada. From a neighboring seignory had gone forth the Baron de St. Castin, famous in the annals of Maine; the land of the Basques, on both the Spanish and the French slopes of the Pyrenées, had for nearly two centuries been a recruiting ground for adventurers to the New World; and Louis's relative, Claude Bragelonne, a high official in the French army, had been one of the Company of the Hundred Associates, whose monopoly long exploited the commerce of the king's ambitious colony over seas. Lefebvre de la Barre had but just succeeded Count Frontenac as governor of New France. His petition to the court for eight hundred regular troops to be used in proposed chastisements of the death-dealing Iroquois, had been in part met by sending to his assistance three companies of French marines in the autumn of 1683. Enrolled among the members of this detachment—exactly in what official capacity, we do not know—was Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce, the youthful Baron de Lahontan, then seventeen years of age.

Lahontan's outlook on a life of reverses had thus early made of him a cynic. The first Letter in his *Voyages*, describing the trip to America, contains premonitory symptoms of that caustic humor which was soon to be characteristic of his pen; here, as later, description is freely mingled with scoffing, and information with persiflage. The season was late when the frigate left Rochelle; it was already November, with drift ice in the St. Lawrence and its rugged shores white with snow, when Quebec was reached after a

Arrival in  
New France.

tempestuous voyage. "I cannot," Lahontan tells his anonymous correspondent, "as yet give you any account of the Country, excepting that 'tis mortally cold." The day following the arrival of the troops, the great La Salle left the little wilderness capital on his voyage to France, whence he was to embark for the Gulf of Mexico upon his final, fateful enterprise.

The marines at once went into winter quarters "in some Villages or Cantons adjacent." It fell to Lahontan's share to be billeted among the habitants of Beaupré, some seventeen miles down the river from Quebec. There, he declares, "the boors of those Manors live with more ease and  
A winter at Beaupré. conveniency than an infinity of the Gentlemen in France;" and he has many pleasant words for this "free fort of People," every one of whom "lives in a good and a well furnish'd House." He remarks the vast fire-places, and the enormous quantities of wood consumed, "by reason of the prodigious Fires they make to guard themselves from the Cold, which is there beyond all measure, from the month of December, to that of April." Despite the nipping and protracted frost, the lad appears to have been contented with his lot. Hunting in company with the Indians, acquiring the dialects of the tribesmen, and visiting their villages in sledges and upon snow-shoes, with a few official duties intermingled, and now and then a gay assembly at the little colonial court on the hill-top in neighboring Quebec, furnished agreeable diversity of occupation. His letters give us a pleasing picture of life among the easy-going habitants in the suburbs; and from

them we also obtain a vivid notion of the aspect of the little frontier capital, in this hey-day of New France.

In the spring (1684), Lahontan proceeded under orders to Montreal. Along the way, during a leisurely progress, he picked up odds and ends of information, and in brief phrase cleverly described what he saw. Late in June, he accompanied an expedition which Governor La

*An Iroquois  
campaign.*

Barre undertook against the recalcitrant Iroquois, and on the eleventh of the following month arrived with the advance party at Fort Frontenac, where they awaited the main body of the army; but owing to the delays incident to such enterprises under primitive conditions, it was some five weeks later before a start could be made. Crossing Lake Ontario the little column took up a position near Famine River, being there so wasted by malarial fever that La Barre was forced to an ignominious peace, which soon led to his recall from the colony. The story of this unfortunate expedition is skilfully told by Lahontan, who gives the speeches of the governor and of the Iroquois envoys in phrases which have become classic examples of Indian oratory and diplomacy.

The following winter, the young baron passed in garrison at Montreal. With the opening of spring (1685) he was sent with a detachment to the frontier fort of Chambly, where the summer was spent in the congenial occupation of accompanying the neighboring habitants and tribesmen upon their hunting and fishing parties, which he describes with the gusto of a true sportsman and a close observer of nature. In September he was ordered to

*Hunting and  
fishing  
expeditions.*



Boucherville, to be quartered on the habitants for the space of a year and a half—a protracted sojourn, but without ennui, for he was given his fill of sport, especially of elk hunting, at one time being absent upon such an excursion for three months in mid-winter. On another occasion, he spent an autumn month “in a Canow upon severall Rivers, Marshes, and Pools, that disembogue in the Champlain Lake, being accompany’d with thirty or forty of the Savages that are very expert in Shooting and Hunting, and perfectly well acquainted with the proper places for finding Water-fowl, Deer, and other fallow Beasts.” He gives us careful reports not only of the methods of the chase, but of the habits of the birds and animals, spiced with much humor and keen comment on men and things.

Dearly as the baron loved sport, he appears to have devoted much of his spare time, even when in forest camps amid rude wood-rangers and savages, to study and to mental growth. “Besides the pleasure of so many different forts of Diverſion,” he writes, “I was likewise entertain’d in the Woods with the company of the honest old Gentlemen that liv’d in former Ages. Honest Homer, the amiable Anacreon, and my dear Lucian, were my inseperable Companions. Aristotle too desir’d passionately to go along with us, but my Canow was too little to hold his bulky Equipage of Peripatetick Silogisms: So that he was e’en fain to trudge back to the Jesuits, who vouchsaf’d him a very honourable Reception.” We doubtless obtain here a glimpse of the source of the Dialogues with Adario, which occupy so

A student  
of the  
classics.

large a share of the second volume; Lucian apparently furnished the model for those caustic satires on the Christianity and civilization of the seventeenth century.

The studies and pleasures of this interesting young man-at-arms were occasionally interfered with by the austerities of the priests about him. He indignantly relates that when stationed in Montreal he was "inrag'd at the impertinent Zeal of the Curate of this City." Seeking his room in his absence, this over-zealous ecclesiastic "finding the Romance of the Adventures of Petronius upon my Table, he fell upon it with an unimaginable fury, and tore out almost all the Leaves. This Book I valued more than my Life, because 'twas not castrated; and indeed I was so provok'd when I saw it all in wrack, that if my Landlord had not held me, I had gone immediately to that turbulent Pastor's House, and would have pluck'd out the Hairs of his Beard with as little mercy as he did the Leaves of my Book."

In the spring of 1687 all was bustling confusion in the settlements on the St. Lawrence. Denonville, the new governor, was about to try his hand at subduing the irrepressible Iroquois, whom Champlain had unwittingly converted into sworn enemies of the French. The largest expedition yet projected was fitted out by the soldier-governor, and rendezvoused at the island of St. Helen, opposite Montreal. Eight hundred regulars had been sent over from France, doubling the number already in the colony. With the new troops came an order from the ministry to allow the return of young Lahontan, whose tangled affairs

Lahontan's  
second Iroquois  
campaign.

were sadly in need of his presence in Paris; his relatives had secured his furlough by the exercise of much personal influence. But the governor, needing all his useful men, deferred compliance, promising it for the close of the campaign, and Lahontan had no alternative but to advance a second time into the country of the Iroquois.

This campaign, while more fruitful than the preceding, effected nothing further than an invasion of the land of the Seneca, the laying waste of their villages and harvests, and the construction at Niagara of a fort designed to check their aggressions. It was upon this expedition that the few friendly Iroquois, who had, under missionary tutelage, settled around Fort Frontenac, were captured by the French and sent prisoners to France to serve in the royal galleys—a piece of arrant treachery, which the wretched and misguided colony was to expiate two years later in the fire and blood of the massacre at Lachine. Lahontan's sympathies were so keenly aroused by the unmerited sufferings of these innocent prisoners at Fort Frontenac, that he stood in close danger of falling a victim to the wrath of the Algonkin allies, who, in their savage fashion, delighted in maltreating the ill-fated Iroquois, whom the missionaries had segregated from the care of their own people. The baron had soundly thrashed some of the young tormentors, but was immediately set upon by the infuriated band, who "flew to their Fufees, in order to kill me." He was saved only by the interposition of the Canadians, who "affur'd 'em I was drunk (Among the Savages, drunken Persons are always excus'd: for, the Bottle attones

for all Crimes), that all the French were prohibited to give me either Wine or Brandy, and that I should certainly be imprifon'd as foon as the Campaign were over."

The campaign finished, Lahontan hoped to be allowed to return to France, but before having an opportunity of reminding Denonville of his promise of a furlough, the luckless officer was summoned to the great man's presence and informed that because of his knowledge of native languages and his skill in forest diplomacy, he was detailed forthwith to the command of a detachment destined to the upper lakes, in response to the request of the wily Huron and Ottawa of Lake Huron, who wished to "fee a Fort fo conveniently plac'd, which might favour their retreat upon any Expedition againft the Iroquefe . . . At the fame time he affur'd me, he would inform the Court of the Reafons that mov'd him to detain me in Canada, notwithstanding that he had orders to give me leave to go home. You may eafily guefs, Sir, that I was thunderftuck with thefe News, when I had fed myfelf all along with the hopes of returning to France, and promoting my Intereft, which is now fo much thwarted."

Ordered to  
the Upper  
Lakes.

The commands of the governor were not to be questioned by a subordinate, so the disappointed Lahontan, smothering his grief with reflections upon his professional advancement, once more turned his back on home, and hastily made preparations for his journey into the vast and almost unknown region of the Northwest. "The Men of my Detachment," he writes, "are brisk proper fellows, and my Canows are both

b

new and large. I am to go along with Mr. Dulhut, a Lions Gentleman, who is a Person of great Merit, and has done his king and his Country very considerable Services. M. de Tonti makes another of our Company; and a Company of Savages is to follow us."

Among the motley war-party which Denonville had led to his assault on the insolent Iroquois, was a band of the "far Indians" brought by their commandant, La Durantaye, from the distant post of Mackinac. Sweeping down in a Fort St. Joseph. flotilla of birch-bark canoes, La Durantaye had halted his savage forces at the head of the strait leading from Lake Huron to Lake St. Clair; and there, on "the seventh of June, 1687, in the presence of the reverend Father Angeleran, superior of the mission of the Outaouas at Michilimachinac, of Ste. Marie du Sault, of the Miamis, of the Illinois, of the Baie des Puans and of the Sioux, of M. de la Forest, late commandant of the fort at St. Louis at the Illinois, and of M. de Beauvais, our lieutenant of the fort of St. Joseph at the strait of Lakes Huron and Erie," had erected the arms of France and taken formal possession of this vast region in the name of the king.<sup>1</sup>

The little fort of St. Joseph was a bastioned block-house of logs, built the previous year by Duluth upon the orders of the governor—one of the long chain of French posts designed to keep English negotiants from the fur country,

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<sup>1</sup> *Prise de possession* (vol. x, fol. 206, Archives du Canada, at Paris), quoted in Roy's excellent paper on "Le Baron de Lahontan," in *Can. Roy. Soc. Proceedings*, 1894, sec. i, p. 79, note.

and to control the vagrant *coureurs des bois*. This important vantage point, refounded (1701) some miles below by La Mothe de la Cadillac, was the place to which the young Gascon was designated, and for whose command he was required to abandon the gayeties of Paris, and the more important business regarding his estates. Setting forth from Fort Niagara on the third of August, Lahontan and his companions proceeded westward as fast as the crude transportation facilities of their day would permit. The first stage was the long Niagara portage, "being oblig'd The journey out. to transport our Canows from a League and a half below the great Fall of Niagara, to half a League above it. Before we got at any beaten or level Path, we were forc'd to climb up three Mountains, upon which an hundred Iroquese might have knock'd us all on the head with Stones." Frequently attacked by these "cruel Fellows," Lahontan was naturally much alarmed at the danger of falling into the hands of such expert torturers, declaring that "To die is nothing but to live in the midst of Fire is too much." This constant fear apparently paralyzed our author's usual powers of description, for he dismisses with a scant paragraph the "fearful Cataract," which nine years before the garrulous Friar Hennepin had so carefully pictured with both pen and pencil.

The little company of whites and savages "coasted along the North-Coast of the Lake of Erie," feasting abundantly on fish and wild turkeys, and arrived at the mouth of Lake Huron on the fourteenth of September. "You cannot imagine," he assures his correspondent, "the pleafant prospect

of this Streight, and of the little Lake [of St. Clair]; for their banks are cover'd with all forts of wild Fruit-Trees." The garrison of the little log fortress "surrendered their Post very chearfully" to the newcomers and, being now relieved from duty, in the way of their kind at once turned fur-traders, and quickly scattered throughout the distant camps of the savages.

Duluth and Tonty tarried for a few days, the former having left some supplies at this station and being interested in a crop of Indian corn which he had sown the previous spring. Charmed with the beauty and free life of the country, the youthful commandant passed the autumn agreeably enough, occupied with the chase, to which he had become passionately devoted, and dallying with parties of tribesmen that passed up and down bent on war, plunder, or hunting. But the ensuing winter was rigorous to a degree that restricted hunting, and the consequent short commons is suggested by Lahontan's sly remark that the Jesuit Father Claude Aveneau, who arrived towards the end of November to serve as chaplain, "found no occasion to trouble himself with preaching Abstinence from Meat in the time of Lent."

By the first of April (1688), the restless commander, no doubt intensely wearied by the long and inactive winter, sought excuse in his lack of provisions to set out with the majority of his force — a small garrison being left at the fort — for the little French military and trading station then on the north shore of the strait of Mackinac, to "buy up Corn from the Hurons and Outaouans." Soon after his

Life at Fort  
St. Joseph.

Departure  
for Mackinac.



arrival at that distant outpost, there appeared there Abbé Cavalier, La Salle's austere brother, and the other survivors of the lost Texan colony of that ill-fated explorer.

At Mackinac Lahontan learned also that his own affairs in France were in desperate straits. From the "fagg end of the World" he thereupon addressed a letter to the Marquis de Seignelay, then powerful at court, craving his protection for the "Son of a Gentleman that spent An appeal for protection. three hundred Crowns in deepening the Water of the two Gaves of Bearn . . . rendering the Bar of Bayonne passable by a fifty Gun Ship, whereas in former times a Frigot of ten Guns durst not venture over it . . . and the bringing down of Mafts and Yards from the Pyrenean Mountains, which could never have been effected, if he had not by his Care, and by the disburfing of immense Sums, enlarged the quantity of Water in the Gave of Oleron to a double proportion." Not only, pleads our petitioner, had the entailed privileges and fees been cut off at his father's death, but the son had been denied several high political positions, "all which were mine by Inheritance"; and now there followed "an unjust Seizure that some pretended Creditors have made of the Barony of la Hontan, of a piece of Ground that lies contiguous to it, and of a hundred thousand Livres that lay in the hands of the Chamber of Bayonne." He is confident that his absence in the American wilds is the sole justification of his creditors, and asks for "Leave to come home the next Year," that he may confront and rout them.

The wander lust strong within his veins, the adventurous

lieutenant roved as far afield as Sault Ste. Marie and the neighboring regions, and in July joined a party of Chippewa on an inglorious raid into the Iroquois country, east of Lake Huron, stopping at his fort only to land a few sacks of corn. It was upon this excursion, far removed from his field of duty, that Lahontan was accompanied by the Huron chief, The Rat, whom he has idealized and immortalized in his *Voyages*, under the title "Adario."

Late in the summer he returned to Fort St. Joseph, but found the situation now untenable. Parties of Indians who had stopped at the post for the usual parleying and present-begging, brought news of the reduction of the garrison at Niagara by disease and destitution, of its probable abandonment, also of the peace which Denonville was "clapping up" with their common foe, the Iroquois. Lahontan reasoned that all this rendered his fort of no value, that he had an accumulation of scarce two months' provisions, and having received neither orders nor supplies from the governor, was thus thrown upon his own discretion. He therefore abandoned his command, burned the block-house and its stockade, and on the twenty-seventh of August embarked with all his men for Mackinac, where he arrived on the tenth of the following month. In the French edition of his work, the commandant elaborately argues that while the abandonment of his post would be a misdemeanor in an officer in Europe, it was in the far interior of America an example of military sagacity. Whatever may be one's judgment on this question, there is no evidence that Lahontan

Fort St.  
Joseph  
abandoned.

because of this action was either reprimanded or degraded in rank. Doubtless Fort St. Joseph was valueless at this juncture of affairs, and its destruction certainly resulted in no disadvantage to New France.

Upon reaching Mackinac with his detachment, the baron found advices to the effect that he had been relieved, and ordered to return with his men to Quebec, provided "the Season and other Circumstances permit; or to tarry here till the Spring if I foresee unfurmountable Difficulties in the Passage." But the convoys for that year had returned to the lower country, and the commandant at Mackinac and the savages united in representing to him the difficulties of the journey, the rapids to be run, the hazardous portages to be made. With comparatively inexperienced soldiers this was all but impossible, and they must perforce content themselves in the upper country until the arrival of spring.

Thus far Lahontan himself has been our guide; his accounts of his own adventures and shortcomings have been recorded in the letters with a *naïveté* and a wealth of detail that bear the stamp of verity. But we now come to that apochryphal relation in the *Voyages*, which for many years has caused the entire work to be rejected by historians as fiction—the alleged journey to the River Long. Writing to his friend under date of September 18, he announces his intention "to travel through the Southern Countries that I have so often heard of," for "I cannot mew my self up here all this Winter." The following May he gives

Ordered to  
Quebec.

Expedition  
to the  
River Long.

to his correspondent a particularized and highly readable account of the tour which he pretends to have made, accompanied by "my own Detachment and five good Huntsmen of the Outaouas," later supplemented by Fox (Outagami) guides.

Leaving Mackinac on the twenty-fourth of September, the story goes, the explorers coasted along the northwest shore of Lake Michigan, visited the Sauk, Potawatomi, and Menominee villages on Green Bay, ascended Fox River, made the mile-and-a-half swampy portage to the Wisconsin (October 16-19), and arrived at the Mississippi four days later. Working their way up that river, the party reached the mouth of the River Long on the second of November. This the baron claims to have ascended for many leagues, visiting upon its banks the wonderful nations of the Eokoros, Esanapes, and Gnacsitaires, from whom he gathered information concerning the Mozeemlek and Tahuglauk beyond; also of a river in the far West that emptied itself into a salt lake of three hundred leagues in circumference. At the western limit of this voyage, Lahontan, as was the custom of French explorers in that day, set up a long pole, bearing the "Arms of France done upon a Plate of Lead."

Upon the twenty-sixth of January (1689), the adventurers set out upon the return, reaching the Mississippi on the second of March. Continuing their trip as far down stream as the mouth of the Ohio, they returned to Illinois River, by means of which and the Chicago portage they entered Lake Michigan, finally arriving at Mackinac the twenty-second of May. Two weeks later, in the company of twelve Ottawa

Indians, in two canoes, our author set out for Montreal by the Ottawa River route, after an absence of two years in the wilderness and among the savages of the Northwest.

"July the 9th I arriv'd at Montreal, after venturing down several fearful Cataracts in the River of the Outaouas, and enduring the hardships of fifteen or twenty Land-carriages, some of which are above a League in length." Near-  
 ing Montreal, his canoe overturned in the Sault St. The return to Quebec.  
 Louis, but he was saved by the adroitness of the Chevalier de Vaudreuil — "The only time I was in danger," he exclaims, "through the whole course of my Voyages." He found the colony calmly watching the departure of the unpopular Governor Denonville, but eagerly awaiting the return of the Count de Frontenac, "for that Governour drew Esteem and Veneration, not only from the French, but from all the Nations of this vast Continent, who look'd upon him as their Guardian Angel."

But when the new governor came on the fifteenth of October, he "countermanded the leave I had to go for France, and has offer'd me a free access to his Pocket and his Table . . . and so I am bound to obey." Frontenac made  
 of the penniless and now disconsolate baron a com- The friend of Frontenac.  
 panion on his journeyings, and, because of his wide experience at the farthest outposts, and his close studies of the aborigines, took counsel of him in regard to remedies for the desperate condition of New France. In the spring (1690), the governor offered to send his *protégé* on an embassy to the Iroquois; but having no wish again to place his head within

the lion's jaws, Lahontan skilfully obtained an excuse from the mission. He records with self-gratulation that the Chevalier d'Aux, going in his stead, was seized, bound, and sent to a long imprisonment at Boston.

Lahontan, meanwhile following the governor's train, was at Montreal when news came of the English invasion under Phips. Hurrying to the capital with his chief, he was in time to witness the withdrawal of the discomfited English admiral (October), and to be chosen by Frontenac to carry the glad tidings to the king and court. Thus, after seven years of life upon the frontiers of civilization, the bronzed young officer reappeared at the social capital of the world, a solicitor of favors at the court of the great Louis. Unfortunately his protector Seignelay was now dead, and the new ministers, the Messrs. Pontchartrain, looked with slight favor upon the nonchalant adventurer from America. They coldly made answer to his petitions for redress, that he could have but the summer to regulate his affairs, for in the autumn he must embark once more for Quebec. However, by way of reward for the welcome news he had brought, Lahontan was promoted to a captaincy in his corps, and created a chevalier of the order of Notre Dame of Mont-Carmel and of St. Lazarre. With his customary cynicism the recipient, who had paid roundly in fees for this last empty title, declares that "The Ceremony of that Instalment was perform'd in Mr. de Louvois his Chamber, and did not last so long as the telling of the Money." The new chevalier had entertained hopes that his uncle, the generous Abbé des Couttes, might bestow

At the French  
court.

upon him some simple benefice ; but a scruple of conscience stood in the way of granting church money to one who, like Lahontan, scoffed at religion and its priests, and the infidel applicant was sent away empty-handed. With parting jibes at the venality and favoritism prevalent at the court, the young captain left Versailles, and, with no apparent reluctance, for his estate was now beyond resuscitation, started for La Rochelle, where he again embarked for Canada.

The eighteenth of September, 1691, found captain the Baron de Lahontan, now in his twenty-fifth year, once more climbing the steep and winding roadway which ascends the cliff of Quebec, and meeting at the chateau of his friend Frontenac the same generous hospitality which Again in Canada. had previously been his, and that of many another luckless gentleman of that day. The winter was exceptionally gay at the governor's little court. Balls and theatricals were much in vogue among the official class and the fur-trade and rustic aristocracy ; but the Jesuits vigorously condemned these practices, and declaimed publicly against the satellites who hung about the head of the colony. The anti-clerical Lahontan was no doubt spurred thereby into a still more active participation in the sports and vices of the capital.

To this period probably belongs his experience with Mlle. Geneviève d'Amours, a romance which he relates under an easily-penetrated disguise. No doubt the young people met freely during the winter's amusements, since the Lahontan's romance. lady was a god-daughter of the governor, and belonged to the family of one of the royal councillors. Her



brothers were, as well, prominent young Canadians, whose attachment for the life of the woods, common to the young gentlemen of New France, had tempted them to the wilderness of Pentagoët and the picturesque River St. John, where among the Abenaki savages they had encountered a pleasant English gentleman from Boston, who traded thither. The fortunes of war had brought this trader a prisoner to Quebec, where the genial Frontenac treated him with marked courtesy, and releasing him on parole made him a participant in the pleasures of the court. All of these friends conspired in making a match between our baron and the brilliant young beauty. On his part, the governor promised licenses to the sum of seven to eight thousand livres; the English guest requested leave to add a thousand more—this, with the dowry of a thousand already possessed by the lady, would have recuperated the ruined baron's fortunes; and, basking as they did in the governor's favor, might have started the couple on the high road to prosperity. But suddenly the negotiations came to a standstill; the young cynic proved stubborn, and would not sign the contract. He requested two months in which to consider, then two months more—which causes one to wonder at the young woman's patience; but no doubt Lahontan was a handsome fellow, with many social graces, and considered a most eligible parti. At last he found his liberty more precious than an establishment in life, and repented of having desired to make her as unhappy as himself. "They were far from expecting any such retraction; so the poor reform'd Captain suffer'd for it, for some

time after Mr. de Frontenac did him a piece of Injustice, in bestowing a vacant Company over his Head, upon Madame de Pontchartrain's Nephew, notwithstanding that the Court had sent orders on his behalf."

Our author's nonchalance, however, did not forsake him; it was not long before he presented a memorial concerning the defences of the upper country against the ravaging Iroquois, in which plan the forgiving Frontenac discovered so much merit that it pleased him to order Lahontan to go in person to present his project to the ministry.

Again des-  
patched to  
France.

In the summer of 1692, therefore, the captain once more started for the Old World, again bearing the governor's despatches to the court at Versailles.

Putting in at Plaisance (the Placentia of our day), a new French post upon the southeastern peninsula of Newfoundland, the frigate which bore him awaited the fishing fleet which it was, according to custom, to convoy to France. Just as they were about weighing anchor, in the third week of September, a fisherman arrived at the fort with the startling news that five English frigates were bearing up the bay. Governor de Brouillon, despite his deficient fortifications and scarcity of ammunition, made immediate arrangements for a vigorous defense. Lahontan was sent with sixty habitants to repulse the landing of the English marines. This being skilfully achieved, the English offered to parley, whereupon Lahontan and a companion were chosen to go aboard the admiral's ship, where they were received with much courtesy. Negotiations failing, the governor

The defense  
of Plaisance.

pushed the defenses with such vigor that the English were obliged to withdraw, after firing two thousand cannon shots at the fort and burning some neighboring fishing villages and their drying scaffolds.

A second time the fortune befell Lahontan to be the bearer of good tidings to the royal ear, again to tell of the repulse of a powerful English fleet by a handful of defenders better equipped with courage and energy than with assistance and powder. Armed with this pleasing message, the  
At Versailles. captain arrived in France after a comparatively brief voyage of seventeen days, and shortly after presented himself at Versailles. The court, however, was more ready to receive agreeable news than to furnish the sinews of war for the far-away colony. Lahontan's ingenious project for the defense of the upper lake region smacked of large expenditures, hence was dismissed with scant ceremony; but he himself was rewarded with the command of an independent company of a hundred men, and the highly honorable position of lieutenant of the king for Newfoundland and Acadia. Our author correctly ascribes his good fortune to no other patron than good chance, remarking at the same time: "I should have been better pleas'd if I could have put the abovemention'd Project in execution, for a solitary Life is most grateful to me, and the manners of the Savages are perfectly agreeable to my Palate." The free, roving life of the Great West of his day was vastly superior, in the opinion of this man of spirit, to immolation upon the storm-swept fjords of gloomy

Newfoundland, second in command to a governor of suspicious habits and capricious temper.

His new honors proved the undoing of our unfortunate adventurer. The coming upon the scene of a royal lieutenant sadly disarranged De Brouillon's plans for his own emolument and the advancement of his family. Lahontan was received at Plaisance with grudging welcome, and soon an open feud broke out between the new official and his chief. It was not soothing to the irascible governor's spirits, that the inhabitants took the part of the subordinate who would not become his puppet; that the ready pen and caustic wit of the latter made lampoons concerning his superior, which were sung publicly in the taverns of Plaisance; and that even the Recollect friars protected the young gallant in his escapades, and spoke in his behalf.

Royal lieutenant in Newfoundland.

After the autumnal departure of the ships for France, carrying to the court De Brouillon's accusations against his lieutenant, the former began more freely to show his temper. One evening Lahontan was entertaining some of the residents, when his door was suddenly burst open, the governor and his train of serving men entered masked, and began to break the glass and windows, handle the furniture roughly, and destroy all else that came beneath their hands. By the time the baron could load his pistols, the intruders were gone; but only to fall upon his servants the next morning, and give them an unmerciful drubbing.

De Brouillon's persecution of Lahontan

The lieutenant, alleging fear for his own life, determined

to escape. The skipper of a small fishing boat that lay in the harbor accepted the offer of a thousand livres to carry the fugitive to Europe; and thus, a second time deserting his post of duty, he fled from the hateful situation — an unwise step, which brought a sweet revenge for De Brouillon, for it wrought the gallant young officer's downfall. It was the fourteenth of December, nearly always a boisterous month off the dread coast of wreck-strewn Newfoundland; but the risk was taken, several "terrible Storms" were encountered, and once they were shot at by a French privateer — at last, however, the little vessel landed her passenger safely in a harbor of Portugal, for he dared not attempt to seek shelter in France, where the only welcome he might expect was disgrace and the Bastille.

By slow stages the unfortunate runaway now journeyed into Holland, the home of refugees who were "awaiting patiently till it pleases God that M. de Pontchartrain should either remove to Paradise or do Justice" to the wronged. From Holland he visited Hamburg, whence (June 19, 1694), he sent a letter which was intended to fall under the notice of the French court, containing an account of the survivors of La Salle's last expedition, whom he claimed to have met in that city. The ministry at once authorized investigation, only to find that Lahontan had invented the tale out of whole cloth. in the vain hope of winning favor at court.<sup>1</sup>

Wanderings of  
the refugee.

<sup>1</sup> Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français* (Paris, 1876-85), iv, pp. 6-8.

Meanwhile, our author had proceeded to Copenhagen, where he ingratiated himself with the French ambassador, De Bonrépaulx, who sent him to Versailles with favorable letters designed to secure his pardon and re-instatement in the king's favor; but his majesty, ever a severe disciplinarian, declined to receive the justification of an officer who had transgressed against his superior, and Lahontan had no recourse but to betake himself in disgrace to his native province, where, his barony having long since been confiscated, he found himself an unwelcome guest. An order having gone forth for his arrest, he avoided it in the nick of time by escaping across the border into Spain, whence emanated the last of his Letters, dated at Saragossa, October 8, 1695.

Thence, until the initial publication of his book in Holland (1703), we have no details concerning the whereabouts of the poor fugitive. In the prefaces of the various editions, one may trace his wanderings from the Low Countries to Denmark, thence to Hanover, whence he visited England, until the year 1710 finds him at the court of the Elector of Hanover, recognized as an accomplished man beset by ill fortune, and maintained as the friend and companion of the philosopher Leibnitz. The unfortunate officer had then, according to the latter,<sup>1</sup> a number of works prepared which he would give to the press, if his now impaired health should improve. He appears to have died soon after this, apparently in 1715, but the actual date of his decease is not known. A year or so later, Leibnitz published a

Last days at  
the court of  
Hanover.

<sup>1</sup> Leibnitz, *Epistol. ad diversos* (Berlin, 1710), iv, p. 22.

posthumous essay by Lahontan, under the title, *Réponse à la lettre d'un particulier opposée au manifeste de S. M. le roi de la Grande-Bretagne contre la Suède*, proving that he followed the increasing fortunes of his protector, the Elector of Hanover, and was ready to aid that ruler's cause with his pamphleteering pen. Parkman also cites<sup>1</sup> a *Memoir on the Fur-trade of Canada*, written in the English interest, which was once in the library of the poet Southey.

Lahontan's *Voyages to North America* was avowedly printed as a last resource on the part of the bankrupt fugitive. We have seen that every vestige of hope regarding the resuscitation of his estate had vanished, and all appeals to the court for reinstatement had proved futile; in this crisis, the Letters, which in the event of his monarch's favor might have been consigned to the flames, were brought forth from their obscurity and given to the world — his distress thus proving our gain. While these now classic epistles were printing in Holland, Lahontan passed over to England, where he secured the patronage of the powerful Duke of Devonshire, and put out an English translation of his work, which in some respects is preferable to the original French.

The vogue of the baron's book was immediate and widespread, and must have soon replenished his slender purse. In simple sentences, easily read and comprehended by the masses, Lahontan recounted not only his own adventures and the important events that occurred beneath his eyes in the much-talked-of region of New France, but

Voyages  
published  
in revenge.

Their  
popularity.

<sup>1</sup> *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West* (Boston, 1879), p. 169.

drew a picture of the simple delights of life in the wilderness, more graphic than had yet been presented to the European world. His idyllic account of manners and customs among the savages who dwelt in the heart of the American forest, or whose rude huts of bark or skin or matted reeds nestled by the banks of its far-reaching waterways, was a picture which fascinated the "average reader" in that romantic age, eager to learn of new lands and strange peoples. In the pages of *Lahontan* the child of nature was depicted as a creature of rare beauty of form, a rational being thinking deep thoughts on great subjects, but freed from the trammels and frets of civilization, bound by none of its restrictions, obedient only to the will and caprice of his own nature. In this American Arcady were no courts, laws, police, ministers of state, or other hampering paraphernalia of government; each man was a law unto himself, and did what seemed good in his own eyes. Here were no monks and priests, with their strictures and asceticisms, but a natural, sweetly-reasonable religion. Here no vulgar love of money pursued the peaceful native in his leafy home; without distinction of property, the rich man was he who might give most generously. Aboriginal marriage was no fettering life-covenant, but an arrangement pleasing the convenience of the contracting parties. Man, innocent and unadorned, passed his life in the pleasures of the chase, warring only in the cause of the nation, scorning the supposititious benefits of civilization, and free from its diseases, misery, sycophancy, and oppression.

An American  
Arcady.



In short, the American wilderness was the seat of serenity and noble philosophy.

Europeans weary of courts and their futile ambitions, found in all this a delightful representation. Moreover, the keenest curiosity had been aroused among them regarding the

European curiosity regarding the New World.

New World — a land so enormous that its breadth had as yet been scarcely half-spanned by the most adventurous of the roving *coueurs de bois*; a region of great rivers and amazing cataracts, of lakes like inland oceans, and vast unknown stretches wherein roamed mysterious beasts of prey, and animals clad in furs which might be envied by a monarch. All statements from such a realm were to be accepted as a matter of course. The *Relations* of the Jesuits had been read with absorbing interest by people with a turn for piety. Those more liberal in their thinking turned with amused tolerance to the books of the garrulous and worldly Recollect, Friar Hennepin, or found keen but perhaps not too open enjoyment in the neatly-printed volumes of the audacious and cynical Baron de Lahontan, with their numerous flings at the polity and teachings of the Canadian Jesuits, and many a well-considered thrust at king and ministry also. A glance at Mr. Paltsits's *Bibliography* is sufficient to prove the demand for Lahontan's *Voyages* — a taste lasting well into the middle of the eighteenth century.

In estimating the historical value of this work, it is well to bear in mind what we believe to be its double purpose — that of a satire upon European life and civilization, and a narration

of the author's adventures in new and unknown realms. The first understood and allowed for, the book becomes of great utility to the student of life and conditions in the forests and hamlets of New France. Here is no rambling journal-writer, like Father Hennepin, puffed up by inordinate vanity. Lahontan relates in a clear, straightforward manner all that came before his eyes. With vivid strokes, he pictures the thinly diffused colony of New France — fishing hamlets fringing the fog-drenched fjords of spruce-mantled Newfoundland; the fur-trade rendezvous at gloomy Tadoussac; habitants nestled upon the billowy shores of the St. Lawrence, or on waving meadows at the mouths of its tributaries, which come swiftly coursing from out the dark forests hanging on its rugged rim; the capital, perched defiantly on the steep cliff of Quebec, overlooking hillsides and rolling plains, in his day becoming well-dotted with the whitewashed stone cabins of a thrifty peasantry; Three Rivers, the centre of a widespread commerce; ecclesiastical Montreal, shadowed by its mountain, and ever alert against the crouching Iroquois; and beyond that — up the stately Ottawa or along the far-reaching waters of the upper lakes, and still farther beyond upon the interlocking drainage systems of the continental interior — the isolated camps of *coureurs de bois*, and little log fortresses, like that of St. Joseph, seeking to hold the wilderness trade against all comers.

Practical  
utility to  
the scholar.

A participant in some of the most stirring campaigns in the brilliant epoch of Frontenac's government, Lahontan presents to us admirable reports of these events. We have also in

his pages first-hand accounts of the political institutions of the colony — its officials, courts, and local government, combined with incisive characterizations of the respective governors, intendants, and official noblesse. The strutting functionary, the zealous Jesuit who balks at no hazard, the gay soldier, the hardy habitant, the roving coureur de bois, and the naked savage, all stand out in bold relief upon his pages. Even the birds and animals, the plants, and the minerals of this strange land do not escape our observer's eye. Thus not only in history, but in topography, geography, ethnology, and natural history, all of it the record of personal knowledge, Lahontan's work stands as one of the important sources for the intimate study of New France.

The frequent neglect of Lahontan by scientific and historical students, has not been justified by the lack of material in his pages. As already intimated, it is in large measure due to the spurious character of the alleged discovery of the River Long, described in the sixteenth Letter. Investigators have, from this one chapter, rejected all. The geographers of the time, eager for information regarding heretofore unknown regions in North America, were easily deceived by the circumstantial character of our author's fluent description, and especially by his map of the mythical waterway; and in consequence the river was incorporated in several maps published early in the eighteenth century, persisting even down to that of Vaugondy, corrected to 1783. But doubts soon arose in the minds of some. Hennepin had omitted to mention such a stream, or the

Investigations  
as to the  
River Long.

peoples that Lahontan had placed upon its banks. The miner and trader Le Sueur, a colleague of Iberville, who ascended the Mississippi nearly to its source and passed two years (1700–02) upon its upper waters, reported neither the Long nor its tribes. Perrot and Duluth, eminent forest rangers of the period, knew no such river — but they were not authors; and it was probably not until Charlevoix visited the country (1721) and published his *Journal historique*, that the spurious nature of Lahontan's pretended discovery fully dawned upon the European world. In 1728 a French expedition built a fort upon Lake Pepin, in the upper Mississippi — one of the chain which was to further the discovery of a route to the Pacific. Its officers found the Issati of Hennepin and the Scioux of Le Sueur, but no traces of the Eokoros, Esanapes, Gnacsitaires, and Mozeemleks of Lahontan. Scepticism now succeeded to faith in the author's verity, and neglect to the former vogue of his works.

Many hypotheses have been advanced, to account for Lahontan's wilful tale. The theory of interpolation, sometimes applied to Hennepin, has been suggested in this case; but the style of the baron's story of his far Western tour is quite in keeping with that of the entire work

Hypotheses  
advanced.

— Letters and Dialogue carry, throughout, the evidence of coming from one and the same hand. Others have seen in the narrative of the journey only exaggeration of possible facts, and have sought to identify the fabulous waterway with the St. Peter's (present Minnesota), whose latitude somewhat closely corresponds with Lahontan's River Long. The late

Elliot Coues followed the suggestion of the explorer Nicollet, that the St. Peter's, with its principal affluent the Cannon, may be of sufficient length to justify the baron's description; and that this southward tributary being the last to freeze, might account for the journey thither in the dead of winter. Still others have seen in the Moingona (present Des Moines) a river whose long, straight stretch from the West may be identical with Lahontan's famous stream. Those who have studied the subject more carefully — such as the baron's latest biographer, Edmond Roy — point out the impossibility of reconciling the pretended voyage with the rest of the author's descriptions. They note that upon leaving Mackinac for the West, the traveller, formerly giving precise and detailed information as to dates and routes, becomes indistinct. The daily occurrences and episodes of a journey, that give it an air of verisimilitude, are now forced and betray invention; the tribes encountered do not speak with the same certain ring as the Iroquois and Algonquian savages whom the author meets elsewhere in his travels, but have an air of posing, while their customs, manners, mode of government, and diplomacy is that of imaginary rather than of real beings; finally, by careful calculation and comparison there is not found available time for so extensive a voyage in birch-bark canoes.

In Roy's opinion, the impecunious fugitive, eager for quick returns, doubtless thought the unvarnished record of a simple officer now in disgrace, would attract few buyers for the volume; he must, in order to secure patronage and readers, pose as a discoverer, and imitate the achievements of

Marquette and La Salle. Possibly he may have entertained a distant hope of being again despatched to his beloved wilderness, on a mission of further exploration and discovery. In the interior of America he had spent many days with Perrot and Duluth, who knew the West as probably no other white men did. Out of their reports, the published accounts of Membré, La Salle, Marquette, and Hennepin, and chance information received from the Indians, he may have obtained the material for the tale of his marvellous journey, and imposed it upon the public for the sake of gain. That he was not incapable of such a feat, his letter on the survivors of La Salle's ill-fated colony, already cited, is sufficient proof.

There remains to be accounted for, his disposition of the time claimed to have been spent upon this voyage of discovery. We have seen that having abandoned Fort St. Joseph, he arrived at Mackinac in the second week of September, 1688. It is hardly probable that this uneasy spirit remained cooped up at that frontier post until his descent to the colony the following summer. With his habits of forest ranging, his fondness for the chase, his delight in savage comrades, it is not difficult to see how he might have spent the few months of this interval. What more probable than that he joined a band of Wisconsin tribesmen — probably Foxes (Outagami), from his choice of them as guides for his pretended expedition — returning from a trading venture at Mackinac, and after a winter in their villages and hunting camps returned to the French outpost in time to descend with the

What he did  
with his  
winter.

A journey to  
Wisconsin  
suggested.

season's convoy to Montreal? This would readily explain his apparent familiarity with the northwest shores of Lake Michigan, with Green Bay, and the Fox River, and his subsequent vagueness in regard to the Wisconsin and the Mississippi.

Again, may not the entire account of the voyage to the River Long, and of the savage Arcady which he found established upon its banks, be deliberately part and parcel of his

A satire on  
others' dis-  
coveries.

satire upon European customs and manners—a cynical rebuke to the credulity of the reading world, and a parody upon the avidity of the explorers of his day to find a route through the continent of America to the land of the great khan of Tartary? May one not see in this an anticipation of Swift, in his more famous *Gulliver's Travels*, and recognize in Lahontan's fantastic Eokoros, Esanapes, etc., the predecessors if not the prototypes of Liliputians and Brobdignagians?

It fell to the lot of this unfortunate man, possessed of keen powers of observation, a biting wit, a passion for justice, and an independence of mind and temper verging upon

An unfortu-  
nate career.

license, to see his patrimony stolen through the chicanery of the law; to plead in vain for justice, at the doors of partial and corrupt ministers; to be bound to military service in the remote quarters of the world, and thus for years deprived of opportunity to meet the harpies who were sapping his inheritance; to suffer indignities at the hands of his superior, and injudiciously flying the scene to become the victim of still greater injustice; to be refused redress of every sort at the court of the most powerful mon-

arch of his time, and to be driven from one court to another an exile and fugitive, seeking patronage which was grudgingly granted. It is not surprising that even in his earlier years his wit turned caustic, his independence became caprice, his observation developed into satire, his reason became cynicism. Add to all this an inconstant habit of mind, easily overcome by ennui, and a tendency to seek diversion in fantastic amusements, in coarse and sensual pleasures, in familiar contact with social inferiors and with savages, and the secret of both Lahontan's success and failure is laid bare.

During his protracted sea-voyages, unending days in wilderness garrisons, and long months of campaigning in gloomy forests, Lahontan brooded upon the blemishes of civilization, contrasting it caustically with the simplicity of barbarism, and erecting an ideal system of savage perfection, which he used as a whip to lash

Brooding on  
the blemishes  
of civilization.

the vices of his time. With the European passion for money, he compares the communal life of the North American aborigine who seeks to satisfy only his immediate needs, and shares his possessions with whoever needs them; over against the servile caste spirit of the courtier, he places the proud independence of each Indian warrior; with the rigid bonds of the married state, he contrasts the easy libertinism of the barbarian; with the elaborate ritual and dogmas of the Church, the primitive nature myths of the sons of the forest. Both the legal and medical professions stand for their share of sarcasm—the flaws in French jurisprudence are ruthlessly thrust forth to view, the ignorance and malpractice of European



physicians denounced. The comforts and luxuries of civilization are ridiculed, while the hardships and paucity of wilderness life are minimized. In short, to quote the words of his marvellous Huronian, Adario, "The Great Spirit has vouchsaf'd us an honest Mould, while Wickedness nestles in yours; and that he sends you into our Country, in order to have an opportunity of Correcting your Faults, and following our Example."

Lahontan's scorn of civilization and exaltation of savagery, culminate in the famous Dialogue between him and Adario —

The Dialogue with Adario. a bit of clever satire modelled on the Dialogues of Lucian, whom we have seen was one of our author's favorite classics. With vision as keen as his Latin prototype, he scoffs at the hypocrisies, shams, corruptions, and other deformities of the world of the seventeenth century, in a manner as bold and with a wit as incisive as his fellow satirist of the second. Nor do the *Voyages* lack Lucian's obscenity and occasional indecency—indeed, this is of so gross a character that some critics have thought Lahontan, the gentleman, scholar, and officer, could hardly be guilty of it; deeming it not unlikely that these touches were either the additions of the English translator—the Dialogue is much more extended in the English than in other editions—or the emendations of a certain unfrocked and ribald French friar, Nicolas Gueudeville, also a refugee in Holland, and well known as a political and religious satirist, as well as a writer on geographical discoveries.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, some authorities have credited to

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<sup>1</sup> Nicolas Gueudeville, the son of a Rouen physician, was born about 1650 or 1654 — authorities differ. Becoming a Benedictine friar, he finally abjured Catholicism, which necessitated his fleeing at once and taking refuge in Holland, where about 1690

Gueudeville the entire book popularly attributed to Lahontan. We are not, however, inclined to this sweeping judgment, believing that the work bears throughout unmistakable evidence of Lahontan's hand—the philosophy of the satire frequently crops out through the most sober narrative, and the historical facts and ethnological information are clearly the product of a man of accurate observation thoroughly conversant with the facts. While it is of course quite possible that Gueudeville may have assisted in sharpening the weapon, we have no direct evidence of this fact; and there is no doubt that the *Dialogue* is quite in accord with the spirit of Lahontan, hence may properly be treated as substantially the latter's production.

Two suggestions made by our author deserve more than passing remark, as showing still further what manner of man he was, and how the colony of New France might have benefited from the adoption of his plans. The first concerns the project of garrisoning the upper lakes, in order to prevent Iroquois incursions and British trading ventures. The astute Frontenac thought his young friend's plan of sufficient importance to send the author to

Lahontan's  
plans of  
defense.

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he married. His publications were numerous. For several years he edited at the Hague a journal of political satire, *L'Esprit des cours de l'Europe*, in which the French government was violently attacked. Suppressed on the instigation of that power, Gueudeville revived the sheet under a slight change of title, and it enjoyed a large circulation. In 1704 he republished Lahontan's *Dialogue*, at Amsterdam; in 1705, he issued at Leyden a five-volume encyclopædia of universal history; in Amsterdam, 1713-21, there appeared his seven-volume *Atlas historique*, in which figured Lahontan's River Long. His translations of Plautus, Erasmus, etc., were mediocre, showing a pen inferior to that of Lahontan, who had quite caught the classical style. Gueudeville appears to have died about 1721.

propose it at Versailles. Had it been carried out—the important portages guarded, and the trade concentrated in competent hands—it is fair to presume that the subsequent ruinous Fox wars in Wisconsin might have been averted, the integrity of New France preserved, and the English defied. La Mothe Cadillac, developing one portion of the plan, secured the upper country for New France for nearly sixty years.

Lahontan's other project was, to people the sparsely-settled colony with the Huguenot heretics, whose energy, industry, and steadfastness went to the building up of the rivals and enemies of France. The short-sighted Louis would have greatly strengthened his hold upon America, had his Protestant population, expelled from the mother land through the revocation of the edict of Nantes, been permitted to turn their steps toward Canada. Lahontan's vision was in this regard, however, in advance of his contemporaries.

There remains but to notice a few of the lesser points in which Lahontan shows his sagacity, foresight, and purely modern spirit. In an age of cruel punishments, he was humane beyond his time. He had no patience with the torture and cruelty of savage warfare, and its imitation by the half-barbarized frontiersmen of New France. The inquisition, as studied by him in Portugal, he denounced rather for its cruelties than its intolerance. He makes the savage Adario inveigh against taking testimony by means of the rack. In all this sensitiveness to physical suffering he

A plea for  
Huguenot  
settlement.

Lahontan's  
qualities.

shows the fineness of his spirit, and the delicacy of his organization. Moreover, while railing at the prevalent beliefs of his time, he is not himself intolerant; he has erected no counter system of philosophy before which his contemporaries must bow; he sees good in various systems of religion, laws, and government, even while he satirizes their deformities and extravagances.

In many ways Lahontan was a precursor of some of the great thinkers of the Revolutionary period in France. His was not the spirit of his own age — the devout worshiping of supreme power as vested in Louis XIV, and of supreme authority as resting in the church of Rome. By nature, Lahontan was an investigator and a critic. No institution, no custom, no mode of thought was by him accepted on faith or by tradition — each must run the gauntlet of his reasoning powers, and show its worth in the light of cold rationalism. His mind was passionately just; in the midst of his cynicism he is fair — even the Jesuits receive from him their meed of praise: he admits their chastity and good works, while despising what he deems their prudery and bigotry. Taking him as a whole, Lahontan was a generation in advance of his age. The *Zeitgeist* from the hills of the future descended upon him. In his hatred and scorn of the current ecclesiasticism and despotism, he anticipated Rousseau; his cynical criticism of existing institutions foreshadowed Voltaire; his exaltation of the virtues and blessings of the savage state, preluded the Encyclopedists. In the *Discours sur l'Origine et les Fondements de l'Inégalité parmi*

Lahontan's  
philosophy  
in advance  
of his time.

*les hommes*, Rousseau apparently borrows many ideas from Lahontan's Dialogue; Chateaubriand's gentle barbarian Atala is brother to the astute and charming Adario.

We have sought to reproduce the old text as closely as possible, with its typographic and orthographic peculiarities, our wish being to preserve the "atmosphere" of the original.

**Exact reproduction.** It has, however, been found advisable here and there to make a few minor mechanical changes; these consist almost wholly of palpable blemishes, the result of negligent proof-reading in the edition followed—such as turned letters, transposed letters, slipped letters, and mis-spacings. Such corrections have been made without specific mention; but in some instances the original errors have been retained, and in juxtaposition the correction given within brackets. Throughout, we indicate the pagination of the old edition which we are reprinting, by inclosing within brackets the number of each page at its beginning, e. g. [75]; in the one instance, in the second volume, where a page was, as the fruit of carelessness in make-up, misnumbered in the original, we have given the incorrect as well as the correct figure, thus: [276, i. e. 279].

In the preparation for the press of this reprint of the original London edition of 1703, the Editor has had throughout the valued coöperation of Louise Phelps Kellogg, Ph. D., his editorial assistant on the staff of the Wisconsin Historical Society. He is also under especial obligations to Victor Hugo Paltsits, of the Lenox Branch

**Aid  
acknowledged.**

of the New York Public Library, whose careful and scientifically constructed Bibliography of Lahontan was prepared for the present publication. As in the case of Hennepin, a year ago, Mr. Paltsits has here given us the first accurate Bibliography of this difficult subject thus far issued.

R. G. T.

MADISON, WIS., October, 1904.



# LAHONTAN BIBLIOGRAPHY

BY VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS

**T**HE path trodden by the bibliographer who undertakes a critical study of the various editions of the voyages of the Baron de Lahontan is beset with innumerable stumbling-blocks. Vagaries in the books themselves; imperfections of extant or available copies in libraries; and the fact that no complete series exists in the libraries of any single city—all these conditions he encounters in his investigations. He discovers also, by the most painstaking analysis, that others who have dealt with the subject have tabulated editions as extant which never existed; and that numerous errors have been perpetuated by the shirking of independent research.

The bibliography presented herewith has been made from the books themselves—generally by testing the collations by several copies. Only by this method has it been possible to present an almost definitive work. Yet, after all the care bestowed, it is not unlikely, on account of the difficulty of finding immaculate copies of certain editions, that some plates or maps are not here recorded. The books of Lahontan have not been collected with that avidity which we find elsewhere evident in this collecting age.

The present bibliography differs from all of its predecessors, in that it gives an analysis of each volume by its component parts, by its pagination, by its signatures, and by the location of its plates and maps. This is, to coin a new term, anatomical bibliography, and follows an idea which I have sought, in several similar monographic studies, to



introduce as a more scholarly method in American bibliography. Only by such means can the librarian, scholar, or collector ascertain whether his books are perfect, or wherein they lack completeness. The mere lumping of pagination or plates falls far short of usefulness; it is, indeed, a source of irritation and annoyance.

In Henry Harrisse's *Notes sur la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1872), nos. 795-803, a brief summary of a few editions of Lahontan's work was given, devoid of collations or other bibliographical data. Joseph Sabin, in his *Dictionary of Books relating to America*, vol. x. (1878), pp. 27-32, gave the fullest record which was printed up to his time; but he read into his work non-extant editions, and distorted the facts. Justin Winsor presented "A bibliographical and critical note" to his *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. iv. (1884), pp. 257-262; it is, however, a more or less inaccurate and incomplete summary. James Constantine Pilling was the first bibliographer to get at all a proper grasp of the subject, in his *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages* (Washington, 1891), pp. 288-295, with seven facsimile title-pages of the 1703 French editions. He made some mistakes, which reappeared in Roy and Dionne, who drew almost bodily from him. J. Edmond Roy appended a bibliography to his otherwise very important work on "Le Baron de Lahontan," published in the *Proceedings and Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada for 1894, section i. His monograph is divided into the following divisions: "Avant-propos," pp. 63-64; genealogy and biography of Lahontan, pp. 64-109; examination and critique of Lahontan's book, pp. 109-165; "Pièces Justificatives" (documents), pp. 166-179; "Notes sur les diverses Editions des Ouvrages de Lahontan," pp. 179-192. There is also a separate issue of his work from the "Proceedings," with its own printed wrapper. Philéas Gagnon, in his *Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne* (Quebec, 1895), item 1922, summarized the bibliography of Lahontan

in about ten lines. Narcisse E. Dionne is the latest bibliographer of the subject, in *Le Courrier du Livre* (Quebec: Raoul Renault, 1899), vol. iii, pp. 313-326. His work is merely a compilation from former bibliographies and sale-catalogues, presents nothing original, and is uncritical.

In the present account, the abbreviated designation for the location of copies is explained by the following key:

B = Boston Public Library.

BA = Boston Athenæum.

BE = Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C.

BM = British Museum, London.

BN = Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

C = Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

HC = Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass.

JCB = John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I.

LLQ = Legislative Library, Quebec.

LP = Library of Parliament, Ottawa.

LU = Laval University, Quebec.

MHS = Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

NL = New York Public Library (Lenox Library Building).

NYHS = New York Historical Society, New York City.

WHS = Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison.

The arrangement pursued is chronological, by the imprint date of each volume; when the volumes of an edition bear the same date they are placed sequentially under that particular year. Each volume, in fact, has for identification its own earmarks.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the special facilities afforded by librarians in the prosecution of this work, and particularly to Mr. George Parker Winship, librarian of the Carter Brown Library, and Dr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress.

1703 — FRENCH: *Angel issue* — VOL. I.

Nouveaux | Voyages | de | Mr. le Baron de Lahontan, | dans |  
l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | Qui contiennent une rélation des dif-  
férens Peuples | qui y habitent; la nature de leur Gouvernement;  
leur | Commerce, leurs Coutumes, leur Religion, & | leur manière de  
faire la Guerre. | L'intérêt des François & des Anglois dans le Com- |  
merce qu'ils font avec ces Nations; l'avantage que | l'Angleterre peut  
retirer dans ce Païs, étant | en Guerre avec la France. | Le tout enrichi  
de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Premier. | [*Emblematic circular cut of  
Angel, etc., with inscription underneath*] |

A La Haye, | Chez les Frères l'Honoré, Marchands Libraires. |  
M. D C C III. |

*Collation.* — 12mo; title, verso blank; "A sa Majesté Frederic IV," pp. (4); "Preface," pp. (7); "Table des Lettres du Tome I," pp. (9); "Voyages" or text, pp. 1-266; "Explication de quelques Termes qui se trouvent dans le premier tome," pp. 267-279; verso of p. 279 blank. No mispaging. The 2d, 4th, 6th, 8th, 12th, and 17th lines and place and date of imprint printed in red.

*Plates.* — Opposite pp. 34, 46, 72, 85, 98, 116, 141, 174, 211, 226, and 242; three frontispieces, namely, a globe and bird in a circle, an Indian in an oval with superscription "Et leges et sceptrum terit," and a small "Carte generale de Canada a petit point;" also a large folded "Carte que le Gnacsitares ont dessiné," etc., found sometimes opp. p. 1, but intended for p. 136. In the preface of this volume the following note appears: "La Carte mise à la tête du premier Volume doit se rapporter à la 16. Lettre du même Volume."

*Signatures.* — \* in eleven, A—L in twelves, M in eight. Sig. I<sub>5</sub> printed correctly.

*Copies.* — BM, JCB (the Globe and Indian frontispieces mounted),

NL (two, one in perfect condition, and one lacking Globe and Indian frontispieces; both copies bound in contemporary hogskin), NYHS (imperfect and otherwise a poor copy).

1703 — FRENCH: *Angel issue* — VOL. 2.

Memoires | de | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | ou la Suite | des  
Voyages de Mr. le | Baron de Lahontan. | Qui contiennent la De-  
scription d'une grande éten- | duë de Pais de ce Continent, l'interêt  
des François & des | Anglois, leurs Commerces, leurs Navigations, |  
les Mœurs & les Coutumes des Sauvages &c. | Avec un petit Diction-  
naire de la Langue du Pais. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. |  
Tome Second. | [*Same cut as in first volume*] |

A La Haye, | Chez les Frères l'Honoré, Marchands Libraires. |  
M. DCCIII. |

*Collation.* — 12mo; title, verso blank; "Memoires," pp. 3-194;  
half-title: "Petit | Dictionnaire | de la Langue | des Sauvages," on p.  
[195]; p. [196] blank; "Petit Dictionnaire," pp. 197-220; "Table des  
Matières contenues dans les deux tomes," pp. (16). P. 219 is mis-  
paged 29. The 1st, 3d, 6th, 7th, 12th, and 14th lines and place and  
date of imprint printed in red.

*Plates.* — Opposite pp. 95, 125, 133, 148, 155, 160, 185, 187, 188,  
189, and 191; a large folded "Carte generale de Canada Dediée au roy.  
de Danemark," opp. p. 3; two frontispieces, namely, a globe and bird  
in a circle, and an Indian in an oval, exactly like these two cuts in the  
first volume of this issue.

*Signatures.* — A—I in twelves, K in ten.

*Copies.* — BM, JCB (the Globe and Indian frontispieces mounted),  
NL (two, one in perfect condition, and one lacking Globe and Indian  
frontispieces), NYHS (imperfect and otherwise a poor copy).

1703 — FRENCH: *Angel issue* — VOL. 3.

Suple'ment | aux Voyages | du | Baron de Lahontan, | Où l'on  
trouve des Dialogues curieux | entre | l'Auteur | et | un Sauvage |  
De bon sens qui a voyagé. | L'on y voit aussi plusieurs Observations  
faites par le même | Auteur, dans ses Voyages en Portugal, en Espagne,  
| en Hollande, & en Dannemarck, &c. | Tome Troisie'me. | Avec  
Figures. | [*Same cut as in vols. 1 and 2 of Angel issue*] |

A La Haye, | Chez les Frères l'Honoré, Marchands Libraires. |  
M. DCC. III. |

*Collation.* — 12mo; title, verso blank; "Preface," pp. (12); "Avis  
De l'Auteur, Au Lecteur," pp. (2); "Dialogues Ou Entretiens entre  
un Sauvages, Et le Baron de Lahontan," pp. 1-103; p. [104] blank;  
half-title: "Voyages | Du | Baron de Lahontan | En | Portugal, |  
Et en | Danemarc," on p. [105]; p. [106] blank; "Voyages De  
Portugal, Et de Danemarc," pp. 107-222. P. 86 is mispaged 89.  
Title-page printed wholly in black.

*Plates.* — Folded plates at pp. 1, 118, 149, and 155; folded maps of  
Portugal and Denmark, by N. de Fer, opp. pp. 107 and 145, respectively.

*Signatures.* — \* in eight, A—I in twelves, K in three (some copies  
have a blank leaf to complete the last signature in four).

*Copies.* — BM, JCB, LP.

1703 — FRENCH: *Ornament issue* — VOL. 1.

Nouveaux | Voyages | de | M<sup>r</sup> le Baron de Lahontan, | dans |  
l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | Qui contiennent une Relation des dif-  
ferens | Peuples qui y habitent; la nature de leur | Gouvernement;  
leur Commerce, leurs Coû- | tumes, leur Religion, & leur manière de |  
faire la Guerre. | L'intérêt des François & des Anglois dans le Commer-  
| ce qu'ils font avec ces Nations; l'avantage que | l'Angleterre peut

retirer dans ce Païs, étant | en Guerre avec la France. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Premier. | [*Ornement*] |

A La Haye, | Chez les Frères l'Honoré, Marchands Libraires. | M. DCIII. |

*Collation.* — 12mo; title, verso blank; "A sa Majesté Frederic IV," pp. (4); "Preface," pp. (7); "Table des Lettres du Tome I," pp. (11); "Voyages" or text, pp. 1-266; "Explication de quelques Termes qui se trouvent dans le premier tome," pp. 267-279; verso of p. 279 blank. Pp. 35, 82, 98, 123, 128, 177, 241, and 242 are mispaged 34, 84, 78, 133, 126, 176, 242, and 142, respectively. The 2d, 4th, 6th, 8th to 12th, and 18th lines and place and date of imprint printed in red.

*Plates.* — Frontispiece and opposite pp. 14, 34, 47, 72, 85, 98, 116, 141, 155 (really belongs in second volume at that page), 174, 225, and 242; a small "Carte generale du Canada en petit point," opp. p. 9, and folded "Carte que les Gnacsitaires ont Dessine," etc., at p. 136.

*Signatures.* — \* in twelve, A—L in twelves, M in eight. Sig. I<sub>5</sub> is misprinted I<sub>3</sub>.

*Copies.* — B, BA, JCB, MHS.

1703 — FRENCH: *Ornement issue* — VOL. 2.

Memoires | de | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | ou la Suite des Voyages | de | M<sup>r</sup> le Baron de Lahontan. | Qui contiennent la Description d'une grande | étenduë de Païs de ce Continent, l'intérêt | des François & des Anglois, leurs Com- | merces, leurs Navigations, les Mœurs & | les Coûtumes des Sauvages &c. | Avec un petit Dictionnaire de la Langue du Païs. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Second. | [*Ornement*] |

A La Haye, | Chez les Frères l'Honoré, Marchands Libraires. | M. DCCIII. |

*Collation.* — 12mo; title, verso blank; "Memoires," pp. 3<sup>\*</sup>-194 (mispaged 164); half-title: "Petit | Dictionaire | de la Langue | des Sauvages," on p. [195]; p. [196] blank; "Petit Dictionaire," pp. 197-220; 'Table des Matieres contenues dans les deux tomes,' pp. (17), verso of last leaf blank; one blank leaf to complete sig. K. Pp. 167, 169, 175, 194 and 219 are mispaged 761, 269, 375, 164, and 26, respectively. The 1st, 3d, 5th, 7th, 13th, and 15th lines and place and date of imprint printed in red.

*Plates.* — Opposite pp. 55, 95, 101, 125, 130, 151, 174, 189, 190, and 191; a "Carte generale de Canada," opp. p. 5.

*Signatures.* — A—K in twelves, the last leaf blank. D<sub>3</sub> is printed in small cap., and F<sub>3</sub> is misprinted F<sub>2</sub>. The small printer's ornament, or *fleuron*, differs in size from that of the first volume of this issue.

*Copies.* — B, BA, JCB, MHS.

1703 — FRENCH: *Globe issue* — VOL. I.

Nouveaux | Voyages | de | M<sup>r</sup> le Baron de Lahontan, | dans |  
l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | Qui contiennent une relation des dif-  
ferens Peuples | qui y habitent; la nature de leur Gouvernement; |  
leur Commerce, leur Coutumes, leur Reli- | gion, & leur maniere de  
faire la Guerre. | L'intérêt des François & des Anglois dans le Com-  
mer- | ce qu'ils font avec ces Nations; l'avantage que | l'Angleterre  
peut retirer dans ce Païs, étant | en Guerre avec la France. | Le tout  
enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Premier. | [*Cut of a globe*] |

A La Haye, | Chez les Frères l'Honoré. Marchands Libraire [*sic*]  
| M. DCCIII. |

*Collation.* — 12mo; collation the same as the "Ornament" issue of the same year, with similar mispaging and signatures.

*Plate.* — The plate for p. 155 is sometimes found in this volume, but really belongs in the second volume. The title-pages of both vol-

umes of this "Globe" issue are printed entirely in black ink, and the plates are superior to those in the "Ornament" issue. The "Globe" issue has corrections in the place-nomenclature on the maps, and some additions of places on these maps have also been noticed. The "Ornament" issue has fancy initial letters, head and tail pieces, while the "Globe" issue is simpler in this respect; but the two issues agree typographically as to text, even in broken letters and singular mispaging.

*Copies.* — BA, C, LLQ, LU, NL.

1703 — FRENCH: *Globe issue* — VOL. 2.

Memoires | de | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | ou la Suite des Voyages | de | M<sup>r</sup> le Baron de Lahontan. | Qui contiennent la Description d'une grande étenduë de | Païs de ce Continent, intérêt des François & des | Anglois, leurs Commerces, leurs Navigations, les | Mœurs & les Coutumes des Sauvages, &c. | Avec un petit Dictionnaire de la Langue du Païs. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Second. | [*Cut of a globe*] |

A La Haye, | Chez les Frères l'Honoré, Marchand [*sic*] Libraires. | M. DCCIII. |

*Collation.* — 12mo. The plate which is found in the "Ornament" issue of this volume opposite p. 55 is properly placed at p. 155 in this "Globe" issue.

*Plates.* — "Lac des Outagamis" and another plate containing a bow, hatchet, etc., and scenes in Indian warfare and cruelty, are not found similarly located in several copies examined; the former appears to belong opp. p. 165, and the latter opp. p. 174.

*Signatures.* — Some copies have p. 218 misprinted 418, and the signature mark D<sub>3</sub> is not printed in small caps, as in the "Ornament" issue, but sig. F<sub>3</sub> is misprinted F<sub>2</sub>.

*Copies.* — BA, C, LLQ, LU, NL.



1703 — ENGLISH — VOL. I.<sup>1</sup>

New | Voyages | to | North-America. | Containing | An Account of the several Nations of that vast Con- | tinent ; their Customs, Commerce, and Way of | Navigation upon the Lakes and Rivers ; the several Attempts of the English and French to dispossess | one another ; with the Reasons of the Miscarriage | of the former ; and the various Adventures between the French, and the Iroquese Confederates of | England, from 1683 to 1694. | A Geographical Description of Canada, and a Natural History of the Country, with Remarks upon | their Government, and the Interest of the English | and French in their Commerce. | Also a Dialogue between the Author and a General of the | Savages, giving a full View of the Religion and strange | Opinions of those People : With an Account of the Authors Retreat to Portugal and Denmark and his Remarks | on those Courts. | To which is added, | A Dictionary of the Algonkine Language, which is generally | spoken in North-America. | Illustrated with Twenty Three Maps and Cutts. | Written in French | By the Baron Lahontan, Lord Lieutenant | of the French Colony at Placentia in Newfoundland, now in England. | Done into English. | In Two Volumes. | A great part of which never Printed in the Original. |

London : Printed for H. Bonwicke in St. Paul's Church-yard ; | T. Goodwin, M. Wotton, B. Tooke, in Fleetstreet ; and S. Manfhip | in Cornhil, 1703. |

*Collation.* — 8vo ; title, verso blank ; “ To His Grace William Duke of Devonshire,” pp. (2) ; “ The Preface,” pp. (8) ; “ The Contents,” pp. (12) ; “ Some New Voyages ” pp. 1-202 ; “ Memoirs of North-America,” pp. 203-274 ; “ A Table explaining some Terms made use of in both Volumes,” pp. 275-280 ; “ Books lately Printed,

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<sup>1</sup> This is the original English edition which is herewith reprinted.

&c.,” p. (1); one blank page. No mispaging. The “Table” ends in the midst of the letter “T” on p. 280, and there is a superfluous catch-word “THE” at the foot of that page.

*Plates.*—Opposite pp. 26, 43, 55, 65, 75, 89, 106, 160, 184 and 225 (map of Newfoundland); a small full-page map of Canada to face the title-page, and two large folded maps to face p. 1, as follows: (A) “A General Map of New France Coñ, call’d Canada,” (B) “A Map drawn upon Stag-skins by y<sup>e</sup> Gnacñtares,” etc.

*Signatures.*—A in eight, a in four, B—S in eights, T in four, and one advertisement leaf.

*Copies.*—B, HC, JCB, MHS, NL (three), WHS.

The following extract from the preface of this volume is worthy of notice here:

While my Book was a Printing in Holland, I was in England; and as soon as it appear’d, several English Gentlemen of a distinguishing Merit, who understand the French as well as their Mother Tongue, gave me to know, that they would be glad to see a more ample Relation of the Manners and Customs of the People of that Continent, whom we call by the name of Savages. This oblig’d me to communicate to these Gentlemen, the substance of the several Conferences I had in that Country with a certain Huron, whom the French call Rat. While I stay’d at that American’s Village, I employ’d my time very agreeably in making a careful Collection of all his Arguments and Opinions; and as soon as I return’d from my Voyage upon the Lakes of Canada, I shew’d my Manuscript to Count Frontenac, who was so pleas’d with it, that he took the pains to assist me in digesting the Dialogues, and bringing them into the order they now appear in: For before that, they were abrupt Conferences without Connexion. Upon the Solicitation of these English Gentlemen, I’ve put these Dialogues into the hands of the Person who translated my Letters and Memoirs: And if it had not been for their pressing Instances, they had never seen the light; for there are but few in the World that will judge impartially, and without prepossession, of some things contained in ’em.

I have likewise intrusted the same Translator with some Remarks that I made in Portugal, and Denmark, when I fled thither from Newfound-Land. There the Reader will meet with a description of Lisbon and Copenhagen, and of the capital City of Arragon.

To the Translation of my first Volume, I have added an exact Map of Newfound-Land, which was not in the Original. I have likewise corrected almost all the Cuts

of the Holland Impression, for the Dutch Gravers had murder'd 'em, by not understanding their Explications, which were all in French. They have grav'd Women for Men, and Men for Women; naked Persons for those that are cloath'd, and è Contra. As for the Maps, the Reader will find 'em very exact; And I have taken care to have the Tracts of my Voyages more nicely delineated, than in the Original.

1703 — ENGLISH — VOL. 2.

New | Voyages | to | North-America. | Giving a full Account of the Customs, | Commerce, Religion, and strange O- | pinions of the Savages of that Country. | With | Political Remarks upon the Courts | of Portugal and Denmark, and the Present | State of the Commerce of those Countries. | Never Printed before. | Written | By the Baron Lahontan, Lord | Lieutenant of the French Colony at | Placentia in Newfoundland: Now in | England. | Vol. II. |

London: | Printed for H. Bonwicke in St. Paul's Church-yard; T. Goodwin, | M. Wotton, B. Tooke in Fleetstreet; and S. Manfhip in Cornhil, | 1703. |

*Collation.* — 8vo; title, verso blank; "A Discourse," pp. 1-89; "A Conference or Dialogue," pp. 90-183; p. [184] blank; "An Appendix, Containing Some New Voyages to Portugal and Denmark," pp. 185-286; "A Short Dictionary Of the most Universal Language of the Savages," pp. 287-302; "The Index," pp. (13); one blank page. The second figure of the paging of p. 43 is inverted and p. 279 is misprinted 276. Sets of this edition are usually very much mixed up in the arrangement of the preliminary and end leaves, and the majority of copies examined lacked the frontispiece to the second volume.

*Plates.* — Frontispiece containing an Indian within an oval, having the superscription "Et Leges et Sceptra terit"; and opposite pp. 5, 29, 36, 51, 59 (two), 80, 82, 84 and 86.

*Signatures.* — Title-page, Aa—Sf in eights, Tt in seven, Vv in seven.

*Copies.* — B (with frontispiece), HC (lacks front.), JCB (with front.), MHS (lacks front.), NL (two, both lack front.), WHS (lacks front.).

1704 — FRENCH — VOL. 1.

Nouveaux | Voyages | de Mr le Baron | de Lahontan | dans | l'Amerique | Septentrionale. | Qui contiennent une relation des differens Peu- | ples qui y habitent, la nature de leur Gouver- | nement, leur Commerce, leur Coûtume, leur | Religion, & leur maniere de faire la Guerre. | L'interêt des François & des Anglois dans le | Commerce qu'ils font avec ces Nations, l'a- | vantage que l'Angleterre peut retirer dans ce | Païs, étant en Guerre avec la France. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Premier. | [*Small ornament*] |

A La Haye, | Chez les Freres LHONORE', Marchands Libraires. | M. DCCIV. |

*Collation.* — 12mo ; title, verso blank ; " A sa Majesté Frederic IV," pp. (2) ; " Preface," pp. (5) ; " Table des Lettres du I. Tome," pp. (9) ; " Voyages," pp. 1-266 ; " Explication de quelques Termes," pp. 267-280. P. 82 is misprinted 84. The title-page printed wholly in black.

*Plates.* — Frontispiece of an Indian in an oval, and opposite pp. 14, 34, 47, 72, 85, 98, 116, 141, 174, 225 and 242 ; a small " Carte générale du Canada en petit point" opp. p. 1 of the text ; a folded map opp. p. 136, entitled : " Carte que les Gnacsitaires ont Dessine," etc.

*Signatures.* — A—M in twelves, N in six (the last leaf blank). Sig. E<sub>5</sub> is misprinted E<sub>6</sub>.

*Copies.* — JCB, LP.

1704 — FRENCH — VOL. 2.

Memoires | de | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | ou | la Suite des Voyages | de | Mr le Baron de Lahontan. | Qui contiennent la De-

scription d'une | grande étenduë de païs de ce Conti- | nent, l'interêt des  
François & des An- | glois, leurs Commerces, leurs Na- | vigations, les  
Mœurs & les Coût- | mes des Sauvages, &c. | Avec un petit Diction-  
naire de la Langue du Païs. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. |  
Et augmenté dans ce second Tome de la ma- | niere dont les Sauvages  
se régalent. | [*Small ornament, same as in vol. 1*] |

A La Haye, | Chez les Freres LHONORE', Marchands Libraires. |  
M. DCCIV. |

*Collation.* — 8vo; title, verso blank; "Memoires," pp. 3-198;  
"Petit Dictionnaire," pp. 199-222; "Table des Matieres," pp. (18).  
Pagination of p. 101 imperfectly printed 10. Title-page printed wholly  
in black.

*Plates.* — Opposite pp. 95, 98, 101, 125, 130, 151, 155, 167, 185,  
189, 190, and 191; a folded "Carte generale de Canada" opp. p. 5.

*Signatures.* — A—K in twelves.

*Copies.* — JCB, LP.

1704 — FRENCH — VOL. 3.

Suite | Du | Voyage, | De l'Amerique, | Ou Dialogues | De Mon-  
fieur le | Baron de Lahontan | Et d'un | Sauvage, | Dans l'Amerique.  
Contenant une description | exacte des mœurs & des coutumes de ces  
| Peuples Sauvages. | Avec les Voyages du même en Portugal & en |  
Danemarc, dans lesquels on trouve des parti- | cularitez très curieuses,  
& qu'on n'avoit | point encore remarquées. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes  
& de Figures. | [*Small scrolled ornament*] |

A Amsterdam, | Chez la Veuve de Boeteman, | Et se vend | A  
Londres, chez David Mortier, Li- | braire dans le Strand, à l'Enseigne  
d'Erafme. | M. DCCIV. |

*Collation.* — 12mo; title, verso blank; "Preface," pp. (12); "Avis

De l'Auteur Au Lecteur," pp. (2); "Dialogues," pp. 1-103; p. [104] blank; half-title: "Voyages | Du | Baron de Lahontan | En Portugal, | Et en | Danemarc," on p. [105]; p. [106] blank; text of "Voyages," pp. 107-222. P. 86 is mispagged 89. The 1st, 3d, 5th, 7th, and 9th lines and place of imprint printed in red.

*Plates.* — Opposite pp. 1, 118, 149, and 155; a map of Portugal at p. 107, and a map of Denmark at p. 145.

*Signatures.* — \* in eight, A—I in twelves, K in three. This volume is merely a reissue of the original sheets of the 1703 edition of the *Supplément*, with a new title-page. We have seen sets of the "Angel issue" of vols. 1 and 2 accompanied by the 1703 edition of the *Supplément*; by the 1704 *Suite*, and by the issue of 1704 called *Dialogues* (*vide* next item).

*Copies.* — LLQ, NL.

1704 — FRENCH: *Dialogues issue* — VOL. 3.

Dialogues | De Monfieur le | Baron de Lahontan | Et d'un | Sauvage, | Dans l'Amerique. | Contenant une description exacte des mœurs | & des coutumes de ces Peuples Sauvages. | Avec les Voyages du même en Portugal & en | Danemarc, dans lesquels on trouve des parti- | cularitez très curieuses, & qu'on n'avoit | point encore remar- quées. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | [*Cut, a vase of flowers*]

A Amsterdam, | Chez la Veuve de Boeteman, | Et se vend | A Londres, chez David Mortier, Li- | braire dans le Strand, à l' Enseigne d' Erafme. | M. DCCIV. |

*Collation.* — This is a separate issue of the *Suite Du Voyage* of this year, which as already shown *in loco* is merely the sheets of the 1703 original with a new title-page.

*Copies.* — BM, C, JCB, NL (two).

1705 — FRENCH: *Jonas l'Honoré* — VOL. 1.

Voyages | du Baron | de La Hontan | dans | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | Qui contiennent une Rélation des différens Peuples | qui y habitent ; la nature de leur Gouvernement ; leur | Commerce, leur Coûtures, leur Religion, & | leur manière de faire la Guerre : | L'Intérêt des François & des Anglois dans le Com- | merce qu'ils font avec ces Nations ; l'avantage que | l'Angleterre peut retirer de ce Païs, étant | en Guerre avec la France. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Premier. | Seconde Edition, revuë, corrigée, & augmentée. | [*Cut, with emblematic scene, globe, pillar and figures*] |

A La Haye, | Chez Jonas l'Honoré, & Compagnie. | MDCCV. |

*Collation.* — 12mo ; engraved frontispiece, with title : “ Nouveaux | Voyages | du Barron | de Lahontan ” ; title, verso blank ; “ Préface,” pp. (8) ; “ Table des Lettres du Tome Premier,” pp. (8) ; “ Voyages ” or text, pp. [1]–364 ; “ Explication de quelques Termes,” pp. 365–376. No mispaging. The 1st, 3d, 5th, 6th, 11th to 14th, and 16th lines and place and date of imprint printed in red. In some copies, if not indeed in all, the paper of signatures N—P (pp. 289–360) is browned.

*Plates.* — Opposite pp. 1, 38, 53, 82, 91, 118, 127, 174, 244, 303, 324, and 340 ; a folded “ Carte que les Gnacsitaires ont dessiné,” etc., opp. p. 1. The only characteristic variation between the Jonas and François l'Honoré issues of this year seems to be their title-pages.

*Signatures.* — \* in nine, A—P in twelve, Q in eight.

*Copies.* — BM, JCB, NL, NYHS (imperfect).

1705 — FRENCH: *Jonas l'Honoré* — VOL. 2.

Memoires | de | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | ou la Suite | des Voyages de Mr. le | Baron de La Hontan : | Qui contiennent la Description d'une grande étenduë | de Païs de ce Continent, l'intérêt des François & des | Anglois, leurs Commerces, leurs Navigations, | les

Mœurs & les Coutumes des Sauvages, &c. | Avec un petit Dictionnaire de la Langue du Païs. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Second. | Seconde Edition, augmentée des Conversations de | l'Auteur avec un Sauvage distingué. | [*Same cut as in first volume*] |

A Amsterdam, | Pour Jonas l'Honoré à la Haye. | M DCC V. |

*Collation.*—12mo; title, verso blank; "Memoires," pp. 5-196; "Conversations de l'Auteur de ces Voyages avec Adario," pp. 197-310; half-title: "Dictionnaire | de la Langue | des Sauvages," on p. [311]; p. [312] blank; "Dictionnaire," pp. 313-336; "Table Des Matieres principales contenues dans ce II Volume," pp. (2). No mispaging. The 1st, 3d, 6th, 7th, 12th, and 14th lines and place and date of imprint printed in red.

*Plates.*—Opposite pp. 95, 104, 125, 129, 133, 148, 155, 160, 185, 187, 189, and 191; frontispiece "Carte Generale de Canada a petit point," and a large folded "Carte Generale de Canada" opp. p. 5.

*Signatures.*—Title-page, A<sub>3</sub>—[A<sub>12</sub>], B—O in twelves, P in one.

*Copies.*—BM, JCB, NL.

1705—FRENCH: *François l'Honoré*—VOL. I.

Voyages | du Baron | de La Hontan | dans | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | Qui contiennent une Rélation des différens Peuples | qui y habitent; la nature de leur Gouvernement; leur | Commerce, leurs Coûtumes, leur Religion, & | leur manière de faire la Guerre: | L'Intérêt des François & des Anglois dans le Com- | merce qu'ils font avec ces Nations; l'avantage que | l'Angleterre peut retirer de ce Païs, étant | en Guerre avec la France. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Premier. | Seconde Edition, revuë, corrigée, & augmentée. | [*Emblematic cut, a globe with five figures seated near a column*] |

A Amsterdam, | Chez François l'Honoré vis-à-vis de la Bourfe. | M D CC V. |



*Collation.* — 12mo; engraved frontispiece, with title: “Nouveaux | Voyages | du Barron | de Lahontan”; title, verso blank; “Preface,” pp. (8); “Table des Lettres du Tome Premier,” pp. (8); “Voyages” or text, pp. [1]—364; “Explication de quelques Termes,” pp. 365–376. No mispaging. The 1st, 3d, 5th, 6th, 11th to 14th, and 16th lines and place and date of imprint printed in red.

*Plates.* — Opposite pp. 1, 38, 53, 82 (corrected from 72), 91, 118, 127, 174, 244, 303, 324, and 340; a folded “Carte que les Gnacsitaires ont dessiné,” etc., opp. p. 1, but often found at some other location in the volume. The only characteristic variation between the François and Jonas l’Honoré issues of this year seems to be their title-pages.

*Signatures.* — \* in nine, A—P in twelves, Q in eight.

*Copies.* — B, BM, C, HC.

1705 — FRENCH: *François l’Honoré* — VOL. 2.

Memoires | de | l’Amerique | Septentrionale, | ou la suite | des Voyages de Mr. le Baron de La Hontan: | Qui contiennent la Description d’une grande étenduë | de Païs de ce Continent, l’intérêt des François & des | Anglois, leurs Commerces, leurs Navigations, | les Mœurs & les Coutumes des Sauvages, &c. | Avec un petit Dictionnaire de la Langue du Païs. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Second. | Seconde Edition, augmentée des Conversations de | l’Auteur avec un Sauvage distingué. | [*Same cut as in first volume*] |

A Amsterdam, | Chez François l’Honoré & Compagnie. | M DCC V. |

*Collation.* — 12mo; title, verso blank; “Memoires,” pp. 5–196; “Conversations,” pp. 197–310; half-title: Dictionare | de la Langue | des Sauvages,” on p. [311]; p. [312] blank; “Dictionaire,” pp. 313–336; “Table Des Matieres principales contenues dans ce II Volume,” pp. (2). No mispaging. The 1st, 3d, 6th, 7th, 12th, and 14th lines and place and date of imprint printed in red.

*Plates.* — Opposite pp. 95, 104, 125, 129, 133, 148, 155, 160, 185, 187, 189, and 191; frontispiece “Carte Generale de Canada a petit point,” and large folded “Carte generale du Canada” opp. p. 5, but having the location mark “Pag: 1” engraved upon it.

*Signatures.* — A—O in twelves, P in one.

*Copies.* — B, BM, C, HC (lacks large map).

1705 — ENGLISH: *Extract.*

A Voyage to North America. Or a Geographical Description of Canada. By the Baron La Hontan, Lord Lieutenant of the French Colony at Placentia in Newfound-Land.

The above title is the heading of chap. xvi of the original folio edition of John Harris's *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca: Or, a Compleat Collection of Voyages and Travels: . . . Volume II.* (London: Printed for Thomas Bennet . . . MDCCV). The complete extract from Lahontan is embraced by Harris's chapters xvi-xxvi, or pp. 915-928.

The revised editions of Harris (edited by J. Campbell), published in 1744-1748 and 1764, do not contain these excerpts.

1706 — FRENCH — VOL. I.

Voyages | du Baron | de La Hontan | dans | l'Amerique | Sep-  
tentrionale, | Qui contiennent une Rélation des differens Peuples |  
qui y habitent; la nature de leur Gouvernement; leur | Commerce,  
leurs Coûtumes, leur Religion; & | leur manière de faire la Guerre: |  
L'Interêt des François & des Anglois dans le Com- | merce qu'ils font  
avec ces Nations; l'avantage que | l'Angleterre peut retirer de ce Païs,  
étant | en Guerre avec la France. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de  
Figures. | Tome Premier. | Seconde Edition, revuë, corrigé, & aug-  
mentée. | [*Cut of three cherubs*] |

A La Haye, | Chez Charles Delo, fur le Singel. | MDCCVI. |

This edition is merely a reissue from the same sheets of the two 1705 issues of François and Jonas l'Honoré, with which it agrees in collation; even the paper of signatures N—P is browned as in them, and all typographical peculiarities are repeated in the body of both volumes.

*Copies.* — BA (lacks many plates and the large map), JCB, NL.

1706 — FRENCH — VOL. 2.

Memoires | de | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | ou la Suite | des Voyages de Mr. le | Baron de La Hontan: | Qui contiennent la Description d'une grande étenduë | de Païs de ce continent, l'interêt des François & des | Anglois, leurs Commerces, leurs Navigations, | les Mœurs & les Coutumes des Sauvages, &c. | Avec un petit Dictionnaire de la Langue du Païs. | Tome Second. | Seconde Edition, augmenté des Conversations | de l'Auteur avec un Sauvage distingué. | [*Cut of two cherubs bearing the host*] |

A La Haye, | Chez Charles Delo, fur le Singel. | MDCCVI. |

This edition is merely a reissue from the same sheets of the two 1705 issues of François and Jonas l'Honoré, with which it agrees in collation.

*Copies.* — BA (*lacks many plates and the large map*), JCB, NL.

1707 — FRENCH — VOL. 1.

Nouveaux | Voyages | de Monsieur | le Baron de Lahontan, | dans | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | Qui contiennent une Relation des diffe- | rens Peuples qui y habitent, la nature | de leur Gouvernement, leur Commerce, | leurs Coûtumes, leur Religion, & leur | maniere de faire la Guerre. | L'interêt des François & des Anglois dans le | Commerce qu'ils font avec ces Nations; | l'avantage que la France,

peut retirer dans ce | Païs, étant en Guerre avec l'Angleterre. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Premier. | [*Floral cut*] |

A La Haye, | Chez Isaac Delorme, Libraire. | M. DCCVII. |

*Collation.* — 12mo ; title, verso blank ; “A sa Majesté Frederic IV,” pp. (4) ; “Preface,” pp. (6) ; “Table des Lettres du tome I,” pp. (6) ; “Voyages,” pp. 1-342 ; “Explication de quelques Termes qui se trouvent dans le premier Tome,” pp. 343-354 ; “Table des Matieres contenues dans le premier Tome,” pp. (12). Pp. 22, 190, 191, 193, 218, 282, and 283 are mispaged 72, 192, 193, 195, 198, 284, and 285, respectively. Title-page printed wholly in black.

*Plates.* — The copy in the Library of Congress, the only one I have been able to examine, evidently lacks six plates and two maps. It has a frontispiece of an Indian in an oval, and plates opposite pp. 47, 101, 119, 161, and 313. Two leaves from sig. E (pp. 107-110) are also wanting in that copy.

*Signatures.* — Title, a in eight, A—B in sixes, b in twelve, C—P in twelves, Q in four (last leaf blank). F<sub>5</sub> printed F<sub>v</sub> ; I<sub>4</sub> printed I<sub>iiij</sub> ; I<sub>5</sub> printed I<sub>v</sub>.

*Copies.* — C (imperfect).

#### 1708 — FRENCH — VOL. 2.

Memoires | de | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | ou la Suite des Voyages | de Monsieur | le Baron de Lahontan, | qui contiennent | La Description d'une grande étenduë de | Païs de ce Continent, l'interêt des | François & des Anglois, leurs Com- | merces, leurs Navigations, les Mœurs | & les Coutumes des Sauvages &c. | Avec un Dictionnaire de la Langue du Païs. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Seconde. | [*Cut, a pot of flowers*] |

A La Haye, | Chez Isaac Delorme, Libraire. | M. DCCVIII. |

*Collation.* — 12mo ; title, verso blank ; “Memoires,” pp. 1-215 ;

p. [216] blank; "Petit Dictionaire de la Langue des Sauvages," pp. 217-239; verso of p. 239 blank. Pp. 38, 39, 40, 44, 105, 116, 150, and 160 are mispaged 36, 37, 38, 48, 89, 115, 250, and 60, respectively. The title-page printed wholly in black.

*Plates.* — The copy in the Library of Congress, the only one I have been able to examine, evidently lacks five plates and perhaps a small map of Canada. It has plates opposite pp. 97, 104, 132, 136, 155, 166, and 211; and a "Carte generale de Canada" opp. p. 3.

*Signatures.* — Title, A—K in twelves. Sig. A<sub>3</sub> is printed Aij; C<sub>5</sub> printed Cv; E<sub>5</sub> printed Ev; K<sub>2</sub> printed Kij.

*Copies.* — C (imperfect).

### 1708 — FRENCH — VOL. 3.

Dialogues | de Monsieur | le Baron de Lahontan, | et d'un | Sauvage, | dans l'Amerique. | Contenant | Une description exacte des mœurs | & des coutumes de ces Peuples | Sauvages. | Avec les Voyages du même en Portugal | & en Danemarc, dans lesquels on | trouve des particularitez très-curieuses, | & qu'on n'a point encore remarquées. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Troisieme. | [*Same floral cut as in vol. 1*] |

A La Haye, | Chez Isaac Delorme, Libraire. | M. DCCVIII. |

*Collation.* — 12mo; title, verso blank; "Preface," pp. (13); "Avis de l'Auteur au Lecteur," pp. (3); "Dialogues," pp. 1-174; one blank leaf for pp. [175] and [176]; half-title: "Voyages | de | Portugal | et de | Danemarc," on p. [177]; p. [178] blank; "Voyages," pp. 179-374. Pp. 265, 268, 269, 272, 273, 276, 277, 280, 281, 284, 285, and 288 are mispaged 269, 272, 273, 276, 277, 280, 281, 284, 285, 288, 289, and 290, respectively. Title-page printed wholly in black.

*Plates.* — The copy in the Library of Congress, the only one I have

been able to examine, evidently lacks three plates and two maps, of Portugal and Denmark. It has one plate opposite p. 1.

*Signatures.* — a in five, b in four, A—P in twelves, Q in eight (last leaf blank). Sig. H<sub>4</sub> is a blank leaf.

*Copies.* — C (imperfect).

1709 — FRENCH — VOL. I.

Nouveaux | Voyages | de Mr le Baron | de Lahontan, | dans |  
l'Amerique | Septentrionale. | Qui contiennent une relation des dif-  
ferens Peu- | ples qui y habitent, la nature de leur Gouver- | nement,  
leur Commerce, leur Coûtume, leur | Religion, & leur maniere de faire  
la Guerre. | L'intetêt des François & des Anglois dans le | Commerce  
qu'ils font avec ces Nations, l'a- | vantage que l'Angleterre peut retirer  
dans | ce Païs, étant en Guerre avec la France. | Le tout enrichi de  
Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Premier. | [*Small ornament*] |

A La Haye, | Chez les Freres L Honoré, Marchands | Libraires. |  
M. DCCIX.

*Collation.* — 12mo ; title, verso blank ; "A sa Majesté Frederic IV," pp. (3) ; "Preface," pp. (5) ; "Table des Lettres du I. tome," pp. (8) ; "Voyages," pp. 1-266 ; "Explication de quelques Termes," pp. 267-280. Pp. 229 and 274 are misprinted 129 and 174, respectively. Title-page printed entirely in black.

*Plates.* — Frontispiece of an Indian and opposite pp. 14, 34, 47, 72, 85, 98, 116, 141, 174, 225, and 242 ; small "Carte generale du Canada en petit point" opp. p. 1, and a small folded "Carte que les Gnacsitaires ont Dessine" opp. p. 136.

*Signatures.* — A—M in twelves, N in six (the last leaf blank).

*Copies.* — HC (two), JCB.

## 1709 — FRENCH — VOL. 2.

Memoires | de | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | ou | la Suite des  
 Voyages | de | Mr le Baron de Lahontan. | Qui contiennent la De-  
 scription d'une | grande étendue de païs de ce Con- | tinent, l'intérêt  
 des François & des | Anglois, leurs Commerces, leurs | Navigations, les  
 Mœurs & les Coû | tumes des Sauvages, &c. | Avec un petit Diction-  
 naire de la Langue du Païs. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures.  
 | Et augmenté dans ce second Tome de la ma- | niere dont les Sauvages  
 se régalent. | [*Same small ornament as in vol. 1*] |

A La Haye, | Chez les freres L Honoré, Marchands Libraires. |  
 M. DCCIX. |

*Collation.* — 12mo; title, verso blank; "Memoires," pp. 3-198;  
 "Petit Dictionnaire de la Langue des Sauvages," pp. 199-222; "Table  
 des Matieres contenues dans les deux Tomes," pp. (18). Pp. 200 and  
 220 are mispagged 220 and 120, respectively. Title-page printed entirely  
 in black.

*Plates.* — Opposite pp. 95, 101, 125, 130, 151, 155, 167, 185, 189,  
 190, and 191; a folded "Carte generale de Canada" opp. p. 5.

*Signatures.* — A—K in twelves. Sig. K<sub>4</sub> is misprinted K<sub>3</sub>.

*Copies.* — HC (two), JCB.

1709 — GERMAN: *Abridgment.*

Des berühmten | Herrn | Baron De Lahontan | Neueste Reisen  
 | Nach | Nord-Indien/ | Oder dem | Mitternächtischen America, |  
 Mit vielen besondern und bey keinem Scribenten | befindlichen |  
 Curiositätten. | Aus dem Frantzösischen übersetzt | Von | M. Vis-  
 cher. |

Hamburg und Leipzig/ | Im Reumannischen Verlag/ MDCCIX. |

*Collation.* — 12mo; doublepage title, with reverse blank; "Gen-

eigter Leser!”, signed by the translator and dated at “Hamburg d. 15. April: 1709,” pp. (8); text with heading: “Des Herrn Baron de la Hontan Nord-Indien,” pp. 1-252; half-title of second part: “Der | Historischen | Nachrichten | Des | Herrn Baron de la | Hontan, | Von | Nord-Indien / | Zweyter Theil,” on p. 253; text of same, pp. 254-432; “Anhang eines Wörter-Buchs von der Wilden Sprache,” pp. 433-454; “Register,” pp. 455-459; verso of p. 459 blank. Pp. 127, 373, 376, 377, and 380 are mispaged 107, 343, 347, 358, and 339, respectively. Title-page printed wholly in black.

*Plates.* — No plates, but small folded “General Carte von Canada” before the title-page.

*Signatures.* — )(in six (of which the folded title-page is a part), a—t in twelves, u in two. The signature mark of b<sub>6</sub> is on the verso of that leaf, and that of d<sub>4</sub> is wanting.

*Copies.* — BM, C, JCB.

1710 — DUTCH: *Extract.*

Van den oorspronk en de kracht der Vooroordeelen, Door J. T. Als mede een koort Uyttreksel Uyt de Aanteykeninge van de Baron de Lahontan, rakende de Zeden, 't Geloof, en't verstant van de Wilden tot Canada, en de lof der hedendaagse Eeuw, in vergelykinge, van de voorgaande Eeuwen. En dat er zoo veele Atheïsten niet zyn als men doorgaans gelooft, Door J. de Klerk. Amsterdam: Jan Blum. 1710. 12mo.

This title is copied from Joseph Sabin's *Dictionary of Books Relating to America*, item 38048. A distorted title of the same is given in Frederik Muller's *Catalogue of Books, Maps, Plates on America. Part I.* (Amsterdam, 1872), item 317. I have not seen this extract. See another edition, under 1723.



## 1711 — GERMAN.

Des berühmten | Herrn | Baron De Lahontan | Neueste Reisen |  
Nach | Nord-Indien/ | Oder dem | Mitternächtischen America |  
Mit vielen besondern und bey keinem Scribenten befindlichen | Curio-  
sitæten. | Auch bey dieser andern Auflage mit | Seiner Reise nach  
Portugall/Dennemarck und | Spanien/vermehret. | Aus dem Frant-  
zösischen übersetzt | Von M. Vischer. |

Hamburg und Leipzig/ | Im Reumannischen Verlag/MDCCXI. |

*Collation.* — 12mo; doublepage title, with reverse blank; "Vorrede. An den verständigen Leser," dated at end "Hamburg, d. 20. Novemb. 1710," pp. (19); one blank page; text headed: "Des Herrn Baron de la Hontan Nord-Indien," pp. 1-316; half-title: "Der | Historischen | Nachrichten | Des | Herrn Baron de la | Hontan, | Von | Nord-Indien/ | Zweyter Theil," on p. [317]; text of same, pp. 318-563; "Anhang eines Wörter-Buchs von der Wilden Sprache," pp. 563-590; "Des Berühmten Herrn Baron de la Hontan Reise nach Portugall und Dennemarck," pp. 591-747; "Register," pp. 748-753; verso of p. 753 blank. Pp. 51, 212, and 359 are mispagged 24, 112, and 395, respectively; there is also an elision of pp. 254 and 255. Title-page wholly in black.

*Plates.* — No plates, but a "General-Carte von Canada," folded, to precede p. 1.

*Signatures.* — ( in twelve (of which the folded title-page forms a part), A—Hh in twelves, Ii in four. Signature mark R<sub>4</sub> is wanting. The translator calls this the "Zweite Auflage" in German.

*Copies.* — JCB.

## 1715 — FRENCH — VOL. I.

Nouveaux | Voyages | de M<sup>r</sup>. le Baron | de Lahontan, | dans |  
l'Amerique | Septentrionale. | Qui contient une relation des differens  
Peuples | qui y habitent, la nature de leur Gouverne- | ment, leur

Commerce, leur Coûtume, leur | Religion, & leur maniere de faire la  
Guerre. | L'intérêt des François & des Anglois dans le Com- | merce  
qu'ils font avec ces Nations, l'avantage | que l'Angleterre peut retirer  
dans ce Païs, | étant en Guerre avec la France. | Le tout enrichi de  
Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Premier. | [*Small ornament*] |

A La Haye, | Chez les Freres L Honoré, Marchands Libraires. |  
M. DCCXV. |

*Collation.* — 12mo ; title, verso blank ; “ A sa Majesté Frederic IV,”  
pp. (3) ; “ Preface,” pp. (5) ; “ Table des Lettres du I. tome,” pp. (8) ;  
“ Voyages ” or text, pp. 1–266 ; “ Explication de quelques Termes,”  
pp. 267–280. Pp. 130, 141, and 274 are misprinted 180, 411, and 174,  
respectively, and the paging of 131 is broken. Title-page printed en-  
tirely in black.

*Plates.* — Frontispiece and opposite pp. 14, 34, 47, 72, 85, 98, 116,  
141, 155, 174, 225, and 242 ; a small “ Carte generale du Canada  
en petit point ” opp. p. 9, and a folded “ Carte que les Gnacsitaires ont  
Dessiné, etc., opp. p. 136.

*Signatures.* — A—M in twelves, N in six (the last leaf blank). Sig.  
M<sub>6</sub> is misprinted H<sub>6</sub>.

*Copies.* — BN, HC, LU.

#### 1715 — FRENCH — VOL. 2.

Memoires | de | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | ou | la Suite des  
Voyages | de | Mr le Baron de Lahontan. | Qui contient la Descrip-  
tion d'une gran- | de étenduë de Païs de ce Continent, | l'interêt des  
Francois & des Anglois, | leurs Commerces, leurs Navigations, | leur  
Mœurs & les Coûtumes des Sau- | vages, &c. | Avec un petit Diction-  
naire de la Langue du Païs. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures.  
| Et augmenté dans le Second Tome de la maniere | dont les Sauvages  
se régalent. | [*Same ornament as vol. 1*] |

A La Haye, | Chez les Freres L Honoré, Marchands Libraires. |  
M. DCCXV. |

*Collation.* — 12mo; title, verso blank; "Memoires," pp. 1 [*i. e.* 3]—198; "Petit Dictionnaire de la Langue des Sauvages," pp. 199–222; "Table des Matieres," pp. (18). Pp. 3, 100, 200, and 220 are misprinted 1, 1, 220, and 122, respectively.

*Plates.* — Opposite pp. 55, 95, 101, 125, 130, 151, 174, 189, 190, and 191; a large folded "Carte generale de Canada," without page location, but opposite the title-page in Harvard copy.

*Signatures.* — A—K in twelves. Sig. F<sub>3</sub> and K<sub>4</sub> misprinted F<sub>5</sub> and C<sub>3</sub>, respectively.

*Copies.* — BN, HC, LU.

#### 1723 — DUTCH: *Extract.*

Den Oorspronk en de kracht | der | Vooroordeelen; | klaar ver-  
toont in een brief door J. T. | Als mede | In de zeden, 't geloof, en 't  
verfant | der Wilden te | Kanada, | getrokken uit de Aantekeningen  
van | den Baron de | La Hontan. | Waar by gevoegt is | Den lof der  
hedensdaagfche Eeuw, in | vergelyking met de voorgaande Eeuwen. |  
Door | J. De Klerk. | [*Floral ornament*] |

Gedrukt in 't Jaar 1723. |

*Collation.* — Small 8vo; title, verso blank; "Den oorspronk en de  
kracht der Vooroordeelen," pp. 3–11; "Een kort Uyttreksel Uyt de  
Memoires de l'Amerique Septentrionale van Mr. le Baron de Lahontan,  
Tome Second," pp. 12–26; "Een kort Extract Uyt de beschryvinge  
van 't Eyland Formosa," pp. 27–29; "Den lof der hedendaagze Eeuw,"  
etc., pp. 29–39; verso of p. 39 blank. No mispaging. Title wholly in  
black.

*Signatures.* — A—B in eights, C in four.

*Copies.* — JCB.

1728 — FRENCH — VOL. 1.

Voyages | du Baron | de Lahontan | dans | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | Qui contiennent une Rélation des différens | Peuples qui y habitent ; la nature de leur | Gouvernement ; leur Commerce, leurs | Coûtumes, leur Religion, & leur manière | de faire la Guerre : | L'Intérêt des François & des Anglois dans le | Commerce qu'ils font avec ces Nations ; l'a- | vantage que l'Angleterre peut retirer de ce | Païs, étant en Guerre avec la France. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Premier. | Seconde Edition, revuë, corrigée, & augmentée. | [*Cut with two flower vases*] |

A Amsterdam, | Chez François l'Honoré, vis-à-vis de la Bourfe. | M. DCC. XXVIII. |

*Collation.* — 12mo ; title, verso blank ; “Préface,” pp. (8) ; “Table des Lettres du tome premier,” pp. (8) ; “Voiages” or text, pp. 1-398 ; “Explication de quelques Termes,” pp. 399-408. No mispaging. The 1st, 3d, 5th, 6th, 12th to 15th, and 17th lines and place and date of imprint printed in red.

*Plates.* — Frontispiece and opposite pp. 17, 40, 56, 90, 91, 97, 129, 136, 188, 216, 351, and 358 ; a small “Carte générale du Canada en petit point” opp. p. 105, and folded “Carte que les Gnacsitaires ont Dessine,” etc., opp. p. 162.

*Signatures.* — Title-page, \* in eight, A—R in twelves.

*Copies.* — B (two), BA, BM, BN, C, HC (lacks a map), JCB, LLQ, LP, LU, NL, WHS.

1728 — FRENCH — VOL. 2.

Memoires | de | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | ou la Suite | des Voyages de Mr. le | Baron de Lahontan : | Qui contiennent la Description d'une grande etenduë | de Païs de ce Continent, l'intérêt des François | & des Anglois, leurs Commerces, leurs Naviga- | tions, les

Mœurs & les Coûtures des Sauvages, | &c. | Avec un petit Dictionnaire de la Langue du Païs. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Second. | Second Edition, augmentée de la manière dont les | Sauvages se régarent. | [*Cut with two flower vases*] |

A Amsterdam, | Chez François l'Honoré & Compagnie. | M. DCC. xxviii. |

*Collation.* — 12mo; title, verso blank; "Memoires," pp. 1-219; "Dictionnaire de la Langue des Sauvages," pp. 220-238. Pp. 161 and 185 are misprinted 151 and 158, respectively. The 1st, 3d, 6th, 7th, 13th, and 15th lines and place and date of imprint printed in red.

*Plates.* — Opposite pp. 98, 109, 142, 158, plate of "Lac des Outagamis" variously placed (but incorrectly engraved "Tom. 2 Pag. 358"), plate of sun-dance variously placed (but incorrectly engraved "Tom. 2. Pag. 267"), 178, 189, 193, and 209; a folded "Carte generale de Canada" opp. p. 5.

*Signatures.* — Title-page, A—L in twelves (last three leaves blank), but often found without the final blank leaves.

*Copies.* — B (two), BA, BM, BN, C, JCB, LLQ, LP, LU, NL (lacks a map), WHS.

### 1728 — FRENCH — VOL. 3.

Suite | du | Voyage | de l'Amerique | ou Dialogues | de Monsieur | le Baron de Lahontan | et d'un | Sauvage, | de l'Amerique. | Contenant une description exacte des mœurs | & des coutumes de ces Peuples Sauvages. | Avec les Voies du même en Portugal & en Dane- | marc dans lesquels on trouve des particularitez | très-curieuses, & qu'on n'avoit point encore re- | marquées. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | [*Small ornament*] |

A Amsterdam. | Chez la Veuve de Boeteman. | M. DCC. xxviii. |

*Collation.* — 12mo; title, verso blank; "Préface," pp. (10); "Avis

de l'Auteur au Lecteur," pp. (2); "Dialogues," pp. 15-128; "Voyages de Portugal et de Danemarc," pp. 129-257, with verso of p. 257 blank. Pp. 84, 206, 207, and 209 are misprinted 48, 106, 107, and 109, respectively. The 1st, 3d, 5th, 7th, 9th, and 17th lines and place and date of imprint printed in red; in the Harvard and Carter-Brown copies the 11th and 12th lines are also printed in red.

*Plates.* — Opposite pp. 15, 136, 176, and 182; maps of Portugal and Denmark at pp. 129 and 171, respectively. All the plates are marked for "Tom. III."

*Signatures.* — A—L in twelves (the last three leaves blank).

*Copies.* — B (two, one of which lacks the maps), BA, BM, BN, C, HC, JCB, LLQ, LP, LU, NL, WHS.

? 1731 — FRENCH — VOLS. I and 2.

Voyages du Baron de Lahontan.

In Charles Leclerc's *Bibliotheca Americana* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Cie, 1867), p. 193, item 825, the following description appears:

825. — Le même ouvrage. Amsterdam, Fr. L'Honoré, 1731, 2 vol. in —12, mar. chocolat, d. s. t.

Vol. i. 4 fnc., 188 pp., 2 fnc., front. gravé, 8 pl. et cartes. — Vol. ii. 2 fnc., 220 pp., 6 pl. et cartes.

I believe no such edition exists, and that the date was mistaken for M. DCC. XXXXI, for the collation agrees with vol. i and vol. ii (called *Suite*) of the 1741 edition. This vagary has misled every bibliographer who has had recourse to Leclerc's title.

? 1731 — FRENCH — VOLS. I and 2.

Nouveaux Voyages \* \* \* dans l'Amerique Septentrionale \* \* \* .  
La Haye, Chez les Frères l'Honoré. MDCCXXXI. 2 vols., 12mo, pp. (8), 188, (4); (4), 220. 14 Plates and Maps.

This title appears in Joseph Sabin's *Dictionary of Books relating to America*, no. 38640. It is merely a repetition of Leclerc's erroneous title (*q. v.* preceding title), in which Sabin has rearranged the material of Leclerc and mistaken the "Fr." as "Frères," instead of "François," and changed the place of imprint to the common "La Haye" of the earlier editions by "les Frères l'Honoré." I believe that no such edition exists. This vagary has misled every bibliographer who has had recourse to Sabin for this subject.

1735 — ENGLISH: *J. and J. Bonwicke*, etc. — VOL. I.

New | Voyages | to | North-America. | Containing | An Account of the several Nations of that vast Con- | tinent; their Customs, Commerce, and Way of Naviga- | tion upon the Lakes and Rivers; the several Attempts of | the English and French to dispossess one another; with the | Reasons of the Misfortune of the former; and the various | Adventures between the French, and the Iroquois Confe- | derates of England, from 1683 to 1694. | A Geographical Description of Canada, and a | Natural History of the Country, with Remarks upon their | Government, and the Interest of the English and French | in their Commerce. | Also a Dialogue between the Author and a General of the | Savages, giving a full View of the Religion and strange Opi- | nions of those People: With an Account of the Author's Retreat | to Portugal and Denmark, and his Remarks on those Courts. | To which is added, | A Dictionary of the Algonkine Language, which is | generally spoke in North-America. | Illustrated with Twenty-Three Maps and Cuts. | Written in French | By the Baron Lahontan, | Lord Lieutenant of the French Colony at Placentia | in Newfoundland, at that Time in England. | Done into English. The Second Edition. | In Two Volumes. | A great Part of which never Printed in the Original. | Vol. I. |

London : | Printed for J. and J. Bonwicke, R. Wilkin, S. Birt, T. Ward, | E. Wicksteed ; and J. Osborn. M, DCC, XXXV. |

*Collation.* — 8vo ; title, verso blank ; “ To His Grace William Duke of Devonshire,” pp. (2) ; “ The Preface,” pp. (8) ; “ The Contents,” pp. (12) ; “ Some New Voyages,” pp. [1]–202 ; “ Memoirs of North-America,” pp. 203–274 ; “ A Table explaining some Terms made use of in both Volumes,” pp. 275–280. No mispaging.

*Plates.* — Opposite pp. 26, 43, 55, 65, 75, 89, 106, 160, 184, and 225 ; small full-page map of Canada opp. the title-page, and two large folded maps, marked *A* and *B*, opp. p. 1, as follows : “ A General Map of New France Com̃, call’d Canada,” and “ A Map drawn upon Stag-skins by y<sup>e</sup> Gnacfitares,” etc.

*Signatures.* — A in eight, a in four, B—S in eights, T in four.

*Copies.* — BA, C.

1735 — ENGLISH: *Osborn issue* — VOL. I.

New | Voyages | to | North-America. | Containing | An Account of the severall Nations of that vast Con- | tinent ; their Customs, Commerce, and Way of Naviga- | tion upon the Lakes and Rivers ; the severall Attempts of | the English and French to dispossess one another ; with the | Reasons of the Miscarriage of the former ; and the various | Adventures between the French, and the Iroquese Confe- | derates of England, from 1683 to 1694. | A Geographical Description of Canada, and a | Natural History of the Country, with Remarks upon their | Government, and the Interest of the English and French | in their Commerce. | Also a Dialogue between the Author and a General of the | Savages, giving a full View of the Religion and strange Opi- | nions of those People : With an Account of the Author’s Retreat | to Portugal and Denmark, and his Remarks on those Courts. | To which is added, | A Dictionary of the Algonkine Language, which is | gen-



erally spoke in North-America. | Illustrated with Twenty-Three Maps and Cuts. | Written in French | By the Baron Lahontan, | Lord Lieutenant of the French Colony at Placentia | in Newfoundland, at that Time in England. | Done into English. The Second Edition. | In Two Volumes. | A great Part of which never Printed in the Original. | Vol. I. |

London: | Printed for J. Osborn, at the Golden-Ball, in Paternoster-Row. | M, DCC, XXXV. |

*Collation.* — 8vo ; title, verso blank ; “To His Grace William,” pp. (2); “The Preface,” pp. (8); “The Contents,” pp. (12); “Some New Voyages to North-America,” pp. [1]–202 ; “Memoirs of North-America,” pp. 203–274 ; “A Table explaining some Terms made use of in both Volumes,” pp. 275–280. No mispaging.

*Plates.* — Opposite pp. 26, 43, 55, 65, 75, 89, 106, 160, and 184 ; a small map of Canada to face the title-page ; two large folded maps to face p. 1 of text, as follows: (A) “A General Map of New France, Coñ, call’d Canada,” and (B) “A Map drawn upon Stag-skins by y<sup>e</sup> Gnacfitares,” etc.; map of Newfoundland opp. p. 225.

*Signatures.* — A in eight, a in four, B—S in eights, T in four.

*Copies.* — BM, MHS, NL (two, one imperfect).

1735 — ENGLISH: *J. Walthoe*, etc. — VOL. 2.

New | Voyages | to | North-America. | Giving a full Account of the Customs, | Commerce, Religion, and strange Opinions | of the Savages of that Country. | With | Political Remarks upon the Courts | of Portugal and Denmark, and the Present State of | the Commerce of those Countries. | The Second Edition. | Written | By the Baron Lahontan, Lord-Lieutenant of | the French Colony at Placentia in New- | foundland: Now in England. | Vol. II. |

London : | Printed for J. Walthoe, R. Wilkin, J. and J. Bonwicke,  
| J. Osborn, S. Birt, T. Ward and E. Wicksteed. 1735. |

*Collation.* — 8vo ; title, verso blank ; “ A Discourse,” pp. 3-91 ;  
“ A Conference,” pp. 92-185 ; p. [186] blank ; “ An Appendix,” pp.  
187-288 ; “ A Short Dictionary,” pp. 289-304. No mispaging.

*Plates.* — Frontispiece, and opposite pp. 5, 29, 36, 59 (two), 80,  
82, 84, and 86.

*Signatures.* — Aa—Tt in eights. Sig. Tt<sub>3</sub> is misprinted Tt<sub>4</sub>.

*Copies.* — BA (lacks plates), C, MHS, NL (two, one of which  
lacks last leaf).

1735 — ENGLISH : *Brindley issue* — VOL. I.

New | Voyages | to | North-America. | Containing | An Account  
of the feveral Nations of that vast Con- | tinent ; their Customs, Com-  
merce, and Way of Naviga- | tion upon the Lakes and Rivers ; the  
feveral Attempts of | the English and French to dispossess one another ;  
with the | Reasons of the Misfortune of the former ; and the various |  
Adventures between the French, and the Iroquefe Confe- | derates of  
England, from 1683 to 1694. | A Geographical Description of Canada,  
and a | Natural History of the Country, with Remarks upon | their  
Government, and the Interest of the English and | French in their  
Commerce. | Also a Dialogue between the Author and a General | of  
the Savages, giving a full View of the Religion and | strange Opinions of  
those People : With an Account of | the Author's Retreat to Portugal  
and Denmark, and his | Remarks on those Courts. | To which is added,  
| A Dictionary of the Algonkine Language, which is | generally spoke  
in North-America. | Illustrated with Twenty-Three Maps and Cuts. |  
Written in French | By the Baron Lahontan, | Lord Lieutenant of the  
French Colony at Placentia | in Newfoundland, at that Time in En-

gland. | Done into English. The Second Edition. | In Two Volumes.  
| A great Part of which never Printed in the Original. | Vol. I. |

London : | Printed for John Brindley, Bookfeller, at the King's-  
Arms | in New-bond-street, Bookbinder to her Majesty, and his |  
Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; and Charles | Corbett, at Addi-  
son's-head, Temple-bar. 1735. |

*Collation.* — 8vo ; title, verso blank ; dedication "To His Grace William Duke of Devonshire," pp. (2). "The Preface," pp. (8); "The Contents," pp. (12); "Some New Voyages to North-America," pp. [1]–202 ; "Memoirs," pp. 203–274 ; "A Table explaining some Terms made use of in both Volumes," pp. 275–280. No mispaging. The Carter Brown copy, the only one I have examined, has the following plates, etc.:

*Plates.* — Opposite pp. 26, 43, 65, 75, 89, and 106 ; a small map of Canada to face the title-page ; a map of Newfoundland at p. 225 ; and two large folded maps to precede p. 1 of the text, as follows : (A) "A General Map of New France Com̃, call'd Canada," (B) "A Map drawn upon Stag-skins by y<sup>e</sup> Gnacfitares," etc. The copy examined apparently lacks plates opposite pp. 55, 160, and 184.

*Signatures.* — A in eight, a in four, B—S in eights, T in four.

*Copies.* — C, JCB.

1735 — ENGLISH: *Brindley issue* — VOL. 2.

New | Voyages | to | North-America. | Giving a full Account of  
the Cu- | stoms, Commerce, Religion, and strange | Opinions of the  
Savages of that Country. | With | Political Remarks upon the Courts  
| of Portugal and Denmark, and the Present | State of the Commerce  
of those Countries. | The Second Edition. | Written | By the Baron  
Lahontan, Lord Lieutenant | of the French Colony at Placentia in  
New- | foundland : Now in England. | Vol. II. |

London: | Printed for J. Brindley, Bookfeller, at the King's | Arms in New-bond-street, Bookbinder to her Ma- | jefty, and his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; | and C. Corbett, at Addison's-head, Temple-bar. | M D. CC. XXXV. |

*Collation.*—8vo; title, verso blank; "A Discourse," pp. 3-91; "A Conference or Dialogue," pp. 92-185; p. [186] blank; "An Appendix," pp. 187-288; "A Short Dictionary," pp. 289-304. No mispaging.

*Plates.*—Opposite pp. 5, 29, 36, 59 (two), 80, 82, 84, and 86, perhaps also a plate on healing sick and burying the dead at p. 51 (not found in the Carter Brown copy), and a frontispiece of an Indian in an oval.

*Signatures.*—Aa—Tt in eights.

*Copies.*—C, JCB.

1739 — DUTCH — VOL. I.

Reizen | van den Baron | van La Hontan | in het | Noordelyk | Amerika, | Vervattende een Verhaal van verscheide Volke- | ren die het bewoonen; den aart hunner Re- | geering, hun Koophandel, hun Ge- | woontens, hun Godsdienst, en | hun wys van Oorloogen. | Neevens het Belang der Franschen en der Engel- | schen in hun Koophandel met die Volkeren; en | 't voordeel dat Engeland, met Vrankryk in | Oorlog zynde, van dat Land kan trekken. | Alles met verscheide Aanteekeningen vermeer- | dert en opgeheldert, en met Kaarten en | Plaatn verciert. | Eerste Deel. | Vertaalt door | Gerard Westerwyk. | [*Ornament*] |

In's Gravenhage, | By Isaac Beauregard. 1739. |

*Collation.*—8vo; title, verso blank; "Voorbericht van den Ver-  
taaler," pp. (3); "Korte Inhouden," pp. (7); "Reizen," pp. [1]-280,  
an insert map-key of four pages at this location, and 281-582. Pp. 58,

59, 62, 298, 305, and 445 are mispaged 59, 60, 64, 498, 30, and 447 respectively; there are no pp. 191 and 192. The 1st, 3d, 6th, 12th to 15th and 21st lines and place of imprint printed in red.

*Plates.* — Opposite pp. 1, 65, 190 (plate marked 192), 297, 398, 488, and 544; a large folded “Carte que les Gnacsitaires ont dessin ,” etc., between pp. 280 and 281.

*Signatures.* — \* in six, A—Nn in eights, Oo in two, with an insert of two leaves between S<sub>3</sub> and S<sub>4</sub>.

*Copies* — C, JCB, NL, WHS.

### 1739 — DUTCH — VOL. 2.

Gedenkschriften | van het | Noordelyk | Amerika, | of het ver-  
volg der | Reizen van den | Baron van La Hontan. | Vervattende de  
Beschryving van een groote | streek Land van dat Weerelddeel; het  
Belang | der Franschen en der Engelschen in 't zelve; | hun Koop-  
handel, hun Schipvaart, en de | Zeeden en Gewoontens der Wil-  
den, &c. Alles met Aanteekeningen | vermeerdert en opgeheldert. |  
Neevens de Zaamen spraaken van den Schryver met | een Wilden,  
en een Woordenboek | van de Taal dier Volkeren. | Met Kaarten en  
Plaaten Verciert. | Tweede Deel. | Vertaalt door | Gerard Westerwyk.  
| [*Ornament*] |

In's Gravenhage, | By Isaac Beauregard, 1739. |

*Collation.* — 8vo; title, verso blank; “Gedenkschriften,” pp. [1]–358; half-title: “Saamen spraaken | van den | Schryver dezer Reizen | met | Adario | een Wilden van Aanzien,” etc., on p. [359]; p. [360] blank; text of same, pp. [362]–523; “Woordenboek van de Taal der Wilden,” pp. 524–552. Pp. 91, 327, and 427 are misprinted 19, 227, and 527, respectively. The 1st, 4th, 7th, 15th to 17th, and 21st lines and place of imprint printed in red.

*Plates.*— Opposite pp. 178, 190, 239, 273, 297, 352, 357, 358 (long narrow cut not numbered), and 390; a “Carte generale de Canada” opp. p. 5 (marked on plate “Tom: 2. P: 1”), which has three pages of text to accompany it—the whole intended to be bound between pp. 4 and 5 of the text.

*Signatures.*— Title, A—Ll in eights, Mm in four, with two insert leaves between A<sub>2</sub> and A<sub>3</sub>.

*Copies.*— C, JCB, NL, WHS.

1741 — FRENCH — VOL. I.

Voyages | du Baron | de Lahontan | dans | l’Amerique | Septen-  
trionale, | Qui contiennent une Relation des diffé- | rens Peuples qui y  
habitent ; la nature | de leur Gouvernement ; leur Commer- | ce, leurs  
Coûturnes, leur Religion, & | leur manière de faire la Guerre : |  
L’Intérêt des François & des Anglois dans le | Commerce qu’ils font  
avec ces Nations, l’a- | vantage que l’Angleterre peut retirer de ce |  
Païs, étant en Guerre avec la France. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes  
& de Figures. | Tome Pemier [*sic*] | Seconde Edition, revûë, corrigée,  
& augmentée. | [*Ornament*] |

A Amsterdam, | Chez François L’Honoré, vis-à-vis de la Bourfe. |  
M. DCC. XXXXI. |

*Collation.*— 12mo ; title, verso blank ; “Préface,” pp. (8) ; “Voy-  
ages” or text, pp. 1–188 ; “Table des Lettres,” pp. (4). P. 82 is  
mispaged 28. The 1st, 3d, 5th, 6th, 12th to 15th, and 17th lines and  
place and date of imprint printed in red.

*Plates.*— Opposite pp. 14, 25, 38, 56, 87, 97, 129, and 156, and  
frontispiece of an Indian in an oval ; a small “Carte general du Canada  
en petit point” opp. p. 10.

*Signatures.*— Title-page, \* in four, A—H in twelves.

*Copies.*— BE, C, JCB, WHS.

## 1741 — FRENCH — VOL. 2 (called VOL. 3).

Memoires | de | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | ou la Suite | des Voyages de Mr le | Baron de Lahontan : | Qui contiennent la Description d'une grande | étenduë de Païs de ce Continent, l'intérêt des | François & des Anglois, leurs Commerces, | leurs Navigations, les Mœurs & les Coûtumes [sic] des Sauvages, &c. | Avec un petit Dictionnaire de la langue du Païs. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Troisieme. | Seconde Edition, augmentée de la manière dont | les Sauvages se régulent. | [*Cut, a double cornucopia*] |

A Amsterdam, | Chez François l'Honoré & Compagnie. | M. DCC. XXXXI. |

*Collation.* — 12mo; title, verso blank; "Memoires," pp. 1-218; "Dictionnaire de la Langue des Sauvages," pp. 219-237, with verso of p. 237 blank. No mispaging. The 1st, 3d, 6th 7th, 13th, and 15th lines and place and date of imprint printed in red.

*Plates.* — Opposite pp. 51, 103, 110, 137, 142, 166, 191, 208, 209, and 210; a large folded "Carte generale de Canada" opp. p. 1.

*Signatures.* — Title, A—K in twelves (the last leaf blank).

*Copies.* — BE, C, HC, JCB, WHS.

## 1741 — FRENCH — VOL. 3 (called VOL. 2).

Suite | des Voyages | du Baron | de Lahontan | dans | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | Qui contiennent une Relation des diffé- | rens Peuples qui y habitent; la nature | de leur Gouvernement; leur Commer- | ce leurs Coûtumes, leur Religion, & | leur manière de faire la Guerre: L'Intérêt des François & des Anglois dans le | Commerce qu'ils font avec ces Nations, l'a- | vantage que l'Angleterre peut retirer de ce | Païs, étant en Guerre avec la France. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Second. | Seconde Edition, revûë, corrigée, & augmentée. | [*Ornament*] |

A Amsterdam, | Chez François l'Honoré, vis-à-vis de la Bourfe. |  
M. DCC. XXXXI. |

*Collation.* — 12mo; title, verso blank; "Table des Lettres du Tome Second," pp. (4); "Suite," pp. 1-210; "Explication de quelques Termes," pp. 211-220. No mispaging. The 2d, 4th, 6th, 7th, 13th to 16th, and 18th lines and place and date of imprint printed in red.

*Plates.* — Opposite pp. 23, 38, 172, and 175; a "Carte que les Gnacsitaires ont Dessiné," etc. opp. p. 1.

*Signatures.* — Title and two leaves, A—I in twelves, K in two

*Copies.* — BE, C, JCB, WHS.

1757 — FRENCH: *Extract.*

Voiage du Baron de la Hontan sur la Riviere Longue.

The above marginal title belongs to a short extract in the original quarto edition of *Histoire Général des Voiages, ou Nouvelle Collection de toutes les Relations de Voiages*, edited by Antoine François Prevost d'Exiles. It is found in vol. xiv (*Paris: Chez Didot, 1757*), pp. 719-729.

This French collection of voyages was also issued in duodecimo — *Paris: Chez Didot, 1749-1789*, 80 vols. of text; in quarto — *A La Haye: Chez Pierre De Hondt, 1747-1780*, 25 vols. It appeared in Dutch — *In's Gravenhage: By Pieter de Hondt, 1747-1767*, 21 vols., quarto; in German — *Leipzig: Arkstee und Merkus, 1747-1774*, 21 vols., quarto; and in Spanish — *En Madrid: En la Imprenta de Don Juan Antonio Lozano, 1763-1791*, 28 vols., quarto.

1758 — GERMAN: *Extract.*

Reise des Barons de la Hontan auf dem langen Flusse. |

This is the heading of an extract in vol. 16 of the "Allgemeine Historie | der Reisen zu Wasser und Lande; | oder | Sammlung | aller | Reisebeschreibungen, | [*etc.*] Leipzig, bey Arkstee und Merkus.



1758. | " This is the German translation of Prevost's collection, *q. v.* under 1757. The German editor was Johann Joachim Schwabe. Labontan begins the fourth "Abschnitt" of the twelfth chapter, on p. 694. Described from a copy in BA.

1812 — ENGLISH: *Abridgment.*

Travels in Canada; | by the Baron Lahontan. |

Such is the heading of this abridgment in John Pinkerton's "A General Collection of the best and most interesting Voyages and Travels in all Parts of the World; \* \* \* Volume the thirteenth. \* \* \* London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Paternoster-Row; and Cadell and Davies, in the Strand. 1812." A foot-note shows that the English edition (London, 1735) was used as the source of the text. It extends from pp. 254-373. Good illustrations are included as follows: "Coffer of Perotte," opp. p. 266; double plate, "On the River St. Lawrence" and "Characteristic Scenery of the Hudson River," opp. p. 271; "Falls of Niagara," which is "Engraved by G. Cooke, from an Original Drawing," opp. p. 296.

1831 — ITALIAN — VOLS. 1 AND 2.

Viaggi | del | Barone di Lahontan | nell'America Settentrionale | Tradotti dal Francese | dal già Capitano Italiano | A. F. | Volume Primo [Secondo] |

Milano | Per G. Truffi e Comp. | 1831 |

*Collation.* — 2 vols.; small 8vo; Vol. 1: Half-title: "Viaggi | del | Barone di Lahontan," verso blank; title, verso blank; "Viaggi" or text (Letters I-XV), pp. [5]-215; "Indice," on verso of p. 215. No plates or maps.

*Signatures.* — Two unmarked signatures in eights, 2-12 in eights, 13 in four.

Vol. 2: Half-title, verso blank; title, verso blank; text (Letters XVI-XXV), pp. [5]-201; "Indice," p. 202. No plates or maps.

*Signatures.* — [1] in four, 2-12 in eights, 13 in four, 13\* in six (last leaf blank).

Printed paper covers, with cut of a globe on a stand; that of vol. 2 is dated "M. DCCC. XXXII." This is a translation of the first volume of the French work, or series of twenty-five letters. The only copy I have seen is in the Library of Congress.

1900 — FRENCH.

Un Outre-Mer | au xvii<sup>e</sup> Siècle | Voyages au Canada | Du Baron de La Hontan | publiés | Avec une Introduction et des Notes | par | M. François de Nion | [*Printers' mark*] |

Paris | Librairie Plon | Plon-Nourrit et Cie, Imprimeurs-Editeurs | Rue Garancière, 8 | 1900 | Tous droits réservés |

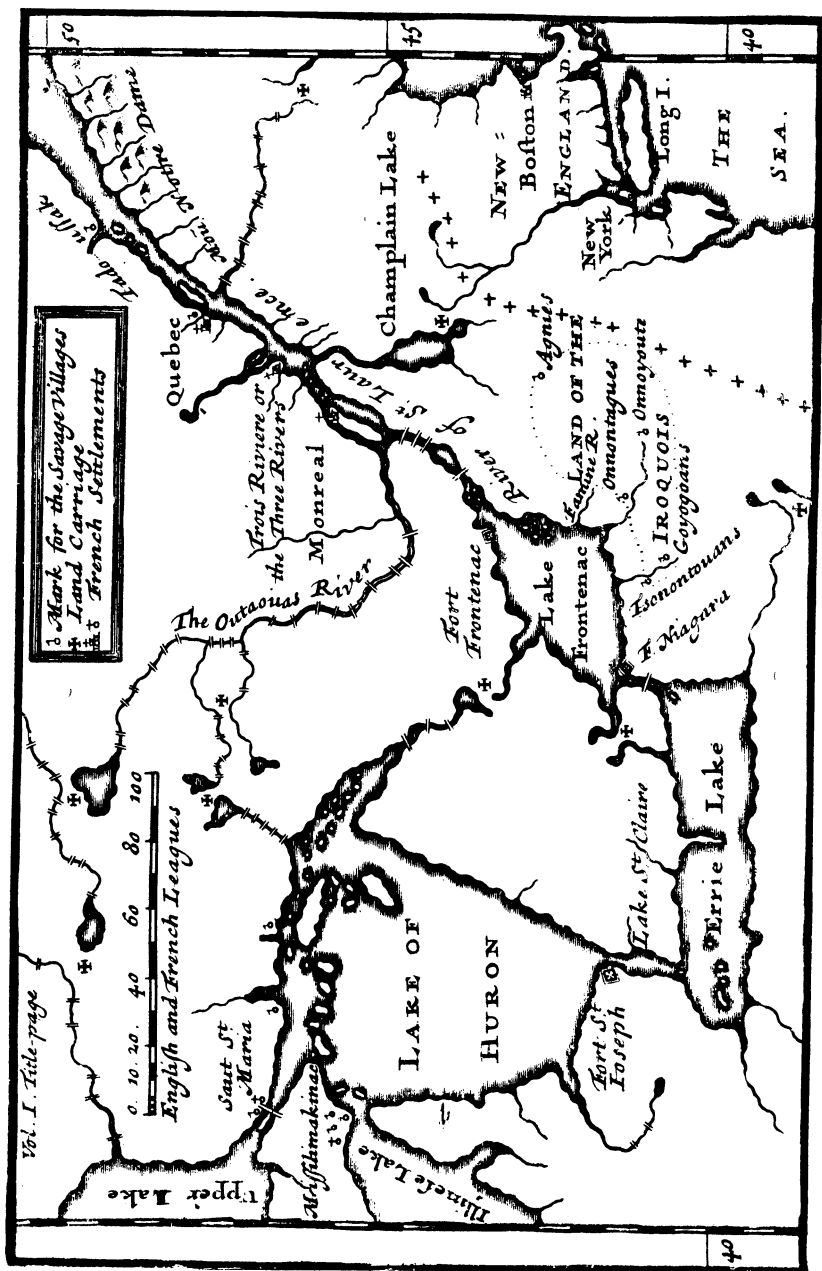
*Collation.* — 8vo; cover-title, verso blank; half-title, with list of works by the same editor, etc., on verso; title, verso blank; "Introduction," pp. [v]-xix; one blank page; text pp. [1]-331; p. [332] blank; "Table des Matières," pp. [333]-338; colophon, with verso blank; list of publications by the same publishing house, on last cover, with recto blank. No mispaging.

*Signatures.* — Cover-title, half-title, title, *a* in eight, 1-21 in eights, 22 in two, last cover. This work is arranged under twenty-five letters. It is not a full reprint of Lahontan, but presents parts of his work, with interpretations in the narrative. There are no maps or plates, and the editorial notes are sparse.

Described from a copy in NL.







NEW  
VOYAGES  
TO  
North-America.

CONTAINING

An Account of the several Nations of that vast Continent ; their Customs, Commerce, and Way of Navigation upon the Lakes and Rivers ; the several Attempts of the *English* and *French* to dispossess one another ; with the Reasons of the Miscarriage of the former ; and the various Adventures between the *French*, and the *Iroquesse* Confederates of *England*, from 1683 to 1694.

A Geographical Description of *Canada*, and a Natural History of the Country, with Remarks upon their Government, and the Interest of the *English* and *French* in their Commerce.

Also a Dialogue between the Author and a General of the Savages, giving a full View of the Religion and strange Opinions of those People : With an Account of the Authors Retreat to *Portugal* and *Denmark*, and his Remarks on those Courts.

To which is added,  
A Dictionary of the *Algonkine* Language, which is generally spoke in *North-America*.

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Illustrated with Twenty Three Mapps and Cutts.

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Written in *French*

By the Baron LAHONTAN, Lord Lieutenent  
of the *French* Colony at *Placentia* in *Newfoundland*, now in *England*.

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Done into *English*.

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In Two VOLUMES.

A great part of which never Printed in the Original.

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LONDON : Printed for H. Bennicke in St. Paul's Church-yard ;  
T. Goodwin, M. Worren, B. Tooke, in Fleetstreet ; and S. Manship  
in Cornhil, 1703.



To His Grace  
**WILLIAM**  
Duke of *Devonshire*,

*Lord Steward of Her Majesties Household, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Derby, Chief Justice in Eyre of all Her Majesties Forrefts, Chafes, Parks, &c. Trent-North; One of the Lords of Her Majesties Most Honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Garter.*<sup>1</sup>

*My Lord,*

SINCE I had the Honour to present the King of *Denmark* with the first part of this Book, I presume to make a Present of the Latter to your Grace.<sup>2</sup> In making the first Dedication, I had no other inducement, than a due regard to

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<sup>1</sup> Unlike Hennepin, Lahontan did not present his book directly to the ruler of England, but chose rather as patron one of the great Whig lords, who was distinguished for his taste in art and letters, and was a critic of some note. William Cavendish, duke of Devonshire, had been active in politics since the reign of Charles II. A private quarrel, as well as public wrongs, had estranged him from James II; he was one of the chief supporters of the Revolution of 1688, and high in favor at the courts both of William III and of Anne. Next to the English ruler, Lahontan could have applied to no more popular or more powerful patron.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Frederick IV, one of the best-known princes of his day, was also a savant and connoisseur. He had received Lahontan at his court, and protected him in need. Lahontan refers here to the first edition, rather than the "first part" of his book—the edition which appeared at the Hague (in French) early in 1703.—ED.



*The Dedication.*

the benefits I receiv'd from His Majesties favour; and the same Motive with reference to your Grace, has prompted me to make this acknowledgment of the undeserved Favours you kindly vouchsaf'd me.

I did not dare to launch out into the praise of His *Danish* Majesty, who has a just Title to all sorts of Encomiums; by reason that the little *French* I had, has been forgot among a sort of People, that take Panegyricks to be Affronts. 'Tis with the same view, My Lord, that I decline the pleasure of publishing those distinguishing Qualities, that place Your Lordship at the Head of the Most Accomplish'd Grandees of the World, and the Most Zealous Patriots of their Country.

*I am with all Gratitude and Veneration,*

*My Lord,*

*Your Grace's,*

*Most Humble, and Most*

*Obedient Servant.*

Lahontan.

# THE PREFACE.

**H**AVING flatter'd my self with the vain hopes of retrieving the King of France's favour, before the Declaration of this War;<sup>1</sup> I was so far from thinking to put these Letters, and Memoirs, to the Press; that I design'd to have committed 'em to the flames, if that Monarch had done me the honour of reinstating me in my former Places, with the good leave of Messieurs de Pontchartrain,\* the Father and the Son.<sup>2</sup>

'Twas with that view that I neglected France, and the other Secretary of State: Both of to put 'em in such a dress as might now be wish'd for, for the satisfaction of the Reader that gives himself the trouble to peruse 'em. 'em vastly rich.

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<sup>1</sup> The reference is to the War of the Spanish Succession (in America, called Queen Anne's War), which began in 1703 between France and Spain on the one hand, and England, Austria, and Holland on the other, involving in its course most European powers. It was terminated by the treaty of Utrecht (1713). — ED.

<sup>2</sup> After the able ministers who served during the vigor of his reign, those chosen by Louis XIV during his old age were mediocre in talent. The two Counts of Pontchartrain belonged to this latter class. Louis Phelypeaux the elder was born in 1643, and early entered the public service; in 1689 he became comptroller-general of finance, and the following year minister of the marine, with charge of colonial affairs. His son Jérôme (born in 1674) became secretary of state in 1693, and upon his father's promotion to the chancellorship (1699), succeeded to the latter's offices. Thus during the latter years of Louis XIV the Pontchartrains were the most powerful ministers of the court. Both lost their offices upon the demise of the king (1715), the elder dying in 1727, the younger in 1717. — ED.

*Between the fifteenth and sixteenth year of my Age I went to Canada, and there took care to keep up a constant Correspondence by Letters with an old Relation, who had required of me a Narrative of the Occurrences of that Country, upon the account of the yearly assistance he gave me. 'Tis these very Letters that make the greatest part of the first Volum. They contain an account of all that pass'd between the English, the French, the Iroquese, and the other Savage Nations, from the year 1683, to 1694. Together with a great many curious Remarks, that may be of use to those who have any knowledge of the English or French Colonies.*

*The whole is writ with a great deal of Fidelity; for I represent things just as they are. I neither flatter nor spare any Person whatsoever; I attribute to the \*Iroquese, the glory they have purchased on several occasions, tho' at the same time I hate that Rascally People, as much as Horns and Law-Suits. Notwithstanding the Veneration I have for the Clergy, I impute to them all the mischief the Iroquese have done to the French Colonies, in the course of a War that had never been undertaken, if it had not been for the Counsels of these pious Church-Men.*

*\* Call'd by the English in New-York, Mahak.*

*The Reader is desir'd to take notice that the Towns of New-York, are known to the French by their old Names only, and for that reason I was oblig'd to make use of the same in my Letters, as well as my Mapps. They give the name of New-York to all that Country, that reaches from the Source of its River to the Mouth, that is, to the Island, upon which there stands a City call'd in the time of the Dutch Manathe, and now by the English, New-York.*

*In like manner the Plantation of Albany, that lies towards the head of the River, is call'd by the French, Orange.*

*Farther; I would not have the Reader to take it amiss, that the thoughts of the Savages are set forth in an European Dress. The occasion of that choice proceeded from the Relation I Corresponded with; for that honest Gentleman ridiculed the Metaphorical Harangue of the \* Grangula; and intreated*

*\* See Letter 7th.*

*me not to make a literal Translation of a Language that was so stuff'd with Fictions and Savage Hyperboles. 'Tis for this reason that all the Discourses and Arguments of those Nations, are here accommodated to the European Style and way of Speaking; for having comply'd with my Friend's Request, I contented myself in keeping only a Copy of the Letters I writ to him, during my Pilgrimage in the Country of these naked Philosophers.*

*'Twill not be improper to acquaint the Reader by the bye, that those who know my faults, do as little justice to these People, as they do to me, in alledging I am a Savage myself, and that that makes me speak so favourably of my Fellow-Savages. These Observators do me a great deal of Honour, as long as they do not explain themselves, so as to make me directly of the same Character with that which is tack'd to the word Savage by the Europeans in their way of thinking: For in saying only that I am of the same temper with the Savages, they give me without design, the Character of the honestest Man in the World. 'Tis an uncontested truth, that the Nations which are not debauch'd by the Neighbourhood of the Europeans, are strangers to the Measures of Meum and Tuum, and to all Laws, Judges, and Priests. This can't be call'd in question, since*

*all Travellers that have visited those Countries, vouch for its truth; and a great many of different Professions, have given the World repeated assurances that 'tis so. Now this being granted, we ought not to scruple to believe, that these are such wise and reasonable People. I take it, a Man must be quite blind, who do's not see that the property of Goods (I do not speak of the ingrossing of Women) is the only Source of all the Disorders that perplex the European Societies. Upon that Consideration 'twill be easie to perceive, that I have not spoke wide in describing that Wisdom and Acuteness which shines through the Words and Actions of these poor Americans. If all the World had access to the Books of Voyages, that are found in some well stock'd Libraries, they would find in above a hundred Descriptions of Canada, an infinity of Discourses and Arguments offer'd by the Savages, which are incomparably stronger, and more nervous than those I've inserted in my Memoirs.*

*As for such as doubt of the Instinct and wonderful capacity of Beavers, they need only to cast their Eyes upon the Great Map of America, drawn by the Sieur de Fer, and grav'd at Paris in the year 1698.<sup>1</sup> Where they will meet with several surprising things, relating to these Animals.*

*While my Book was a Printing in Holland, I was in England; and as soon as it appear'd, several English Gentlemen of a distinguishing Merit, who understand the French as well as their Mother Tongue, gave me to know, that they would be glad to see a more*

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<sup>1</sup> Nicolas de Fer (1646-1720) was a well-known cartographer of his time, bearing the title of royal geographer of Belgium (1701-16). His maps were more noted for the adornment of their borders, and their picturesque appearance, than for accuracy. Lahontan doubtless refers to engravings of beavers which ornament the margin of the chart here cited. — ED.

*ample Relation of the Manners and Customs of the People of that Continent, whom we call by the name of Savages. This oblig'd me to communicate to these Gentlemen, the substance of the several Conferences I had in that Country with a certain Huron, whom the French call Rat. While I stay'd at that American's Village, I imploy'd my time very agreeably in making a careful Collection of all his Arguments and Opinions; and as soon as I return'd from my Voyage upon the Lakes of Canada, I shew'd my Manuscript to Count Frontenac, who was so pleas'd with it, that he took the pains to assist me in digesting the Dialogues, and bringing them into the order they now appear in<sup>1</sup>: For before that, they were abrupt Conferences without Connexion. Upon the Solicitation of these English Gentlemen, I've put these Dialogues into the hands of the Person who translated my Letters and Memoirs: And if it had not been for their pressing Instances, they had never seen the light; for there are but few in the World that will judge impartially, and without prepossession, of some things contain'd in 'em.*

*I have likewise intrusted the same Translator with some Remarks that I made in Portugal, and Denmark, when I fled thither from Newfound-Land. There the Reader will meet with a description of Lisbon and Copenhagen, and of the capital City of Arragon.*

*To the Translation of my first Volume, I have added an exact Map of Newfound-Land, which was not in the Original. I have likewise corrected almost all the Cuts of the Holland Impression, for*

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<sup>1</sup> Frontenac's responsibility for the famous dialogue between Lahontan and the Huron has been much discussed. Without doubt, the governor of Canada permitted himself liberties in religious thought, and enjoyed Lahontan's clever flings against the Jesuits; but it can hardly be held that all the sentiments expressed by the traveller accorded with his own. — ED.

## The Preface.

*the Dutch Gravers had murder'd 'em, by not understanding their Explications, which were all in French. They have grav'd Women for Men, and Men for Women; naked Persons for those that are cloath'd, and è Contra. As for the Maps, the Reader will find 'em very exact; And I have taken care to have the Traëts of my Voyages more nicely delineated, than in the Original.*

*I understand by Letters from Paris, that the two Messieurs de Pontchartrain endeavour by all means to be reveng'd upon me for the affront they say I have given 'em in publishing some trifling Stories in my Book, that ought to have been conceal'd. I am likewise inform'd, that I have reason to be apprehensive of the Resentment of several Ecclesiasticks, who pretend I have insulted God in censuring their Conduct. But since I expected nothing less than the furious Resentment both of the one and the other, when I put this Book to the Press; I had time enough to arm myself from top to toe, in order to make head against 'em. 'Tis my comfort, that I have writ nothing but what I make good by Authentick proofs; besides, that I could not have said less of 'em than I have done; for if I had not tied my self up to the direct thread of my Discourse, I could have made Digressions, in which the Conduct both of the one and the other, would have appear'd to be prejudicial to the repose of the Society, and the publick Good. I had provocation enough to have treated 'em in that manner; but my Letters being address'd to an old Bigotted Relation of mine, who fed upon Devotion, and dreaded the influence of the Court; he still beseech'd me to write nothing to him that might disoblige the Clergy or the Courtiers, for fear of the intercepting of my Letters. However, I have advice from Paris, that some Pedants are set at work to lash me in writing; and so I must prepare to stand*

*the brunt of a shower of affronts, that will be pour'd upon me in a few days. But 'tis no matter; I am so good a Conjurer, that I can ward off any storm from the side of Paris. I laugh at their Threats; and since I can't make use of my Sword, I'll wage War with my Pen.*

*This I only mention by the bye, in this my Preface to the Reader, whom I pray the Heavens to Crown with Prosperity, in preserving him from having any business to adjust with most of the Ministers of State, and Priests; for let them be never so faulty, they'll still be said to be in the right, till such time as Anarchy be introduc'd amongst us, as well as the Americans, among whom the sorryest fellow thinks himself a better Man, than a Chancellor of France. These People are happy in being screen'd from the tricks and shifts of Ministers, who are always Masters where-ever they come. I envy the state of a poor Savage, who tramples upon Laws, and pays Homage to no Scepter. I wish I could spend the rest of my Life in his Hutt, and so be no longer expos'd to the chagrin of bending the knee to a set of Men, that sacrifice the publick good to their private interest, and are born to plague honest Men. The two Ministers of State I have to do with, have been solicited in vain, by the Dukes of Lude, Cardinal Bouillon, Count Guiscard, Mr. de Quiros, and Count d' Avaux<sup>1</sup>: Nothing could prevail, tho' all that is laid to my charge, consists only in not bearing the affronts of a Governour, whom they protect; at a time when a hundred other Officers, who*

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<sup>1</sup> These patrons who spoke on behalf of Lahontan were among the eminent personages of the court of Louis XIV. The Count de Lude was grand master of artillery, his wife a friend of Madame de Frontenac. Cardinal Bouillon was the younger son of the great Turenne, a prominent supporter of Fenelon; at this time he was in a sort of honorable exile in Holland, as was likewise Count Guiscard, a diplomat and



*live under the imputation of Crimes, infinitely greater than mine, are excus'd for three Months absence from Court.<sup>1</sup> Now the Reason is, that they give less quarter to those who have the misfortune to displease the two Messieurs de Ponchartrain. than to such as act contrary to the King's Orders.*

*But after all my Misfortunes, I have this to solace me, that I enjoy in England a sort of Liberty, that is not met with elsewhere: For one may justly say, that of all the Countries inhabited by civilis'd People, this alone affords the greatest perfection of Liberty. Nay, I do not except the liberty of the Mind, for I am convinc'd, that the English maintain it with a great deal of tendernefs: So true it is, that all degrees of Slavery are abhorr'd by this People, who shew their Wisdom in the precautions they take to prevent their sinking into a fatal Servitude.*

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politician of some fame. Don Francesco Bernardo de Quiros was Spanish ambassador at the Hague; and Count d'Avaux had long been French minister at the same court, retiring upon William III's invasion of England (1688), and again upon the outbreak of the War of Spanish Succession (1703). It was he who accompanied James II (1689) to Ireland, as representative of Louis XIV. — ED.

<sup>1</sup> Lahontan here refers to his disagreement with Brouillon, governor of Newfoundland, and his own departure thence without leave. — ED.

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[Original pagination retained.]

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and the variation of the Needle. p. I.

### LETTER II.

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manner in which they were first form'd: As also an Account of  
the Transportation of Whores from France to that Country;  
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### LETTER. III.

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## LETTER. IV.

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## LETTER. V.

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Some New  
**VOYAGES**  
TO  
*North-America.*  
TOME I.

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LETTER I.

Dated at the Port of *Quebec*, Nov. 8. 1683.

*Containing a Description of the Passage from France to Canada;  
with some Remarks upon the Coasts, Channells, &c. and the  
Variation of the Needle.*

SIR,

I AM surpris'd to find that a Voyage to the New World is so formidable to those who are oblig'd to undertake it; for I solemnly protest that 'tis far from being what the World commonly takes it for. 'Tis true, the Passage is in some measure long; but then the hopes of viewing an unknown Country, atones for the tediousness of the Voyage. When we broke ground from *Rockel*, I acquainted you with the Reasons that mov'd Mr. *le Fevre de la Barre*, Governor General of *Canada*,

to fend the *Sieur Mabou*, a *Canadese*, to *France*<sup>1</sup>; and at the same time gave you to know, that he [2] had resolv'd upon the utter destruction of the *Iroquese*, who are a very Warlike and Savage People.<sup>2</sup> These Barbarians befriend the *English*, upon the account of the Succours they receive from 'em; but they are enemies to us, upon the apprehension of being destroy'd by us some time or other. The General I spoke of but now, expected that the King would fend him seven or eight hundred Men; but when we set out from *Rochel* the season was so far advanc'd, that our three Companies of Marines were reckon'd a sufficient Venture.

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<sup>1</sup> Le Fèvre de la Barre was in 1682 appointed governor of New France, to supersede Frontenac. He was an officer of experience, having seen service in the West Indies, been governor of Cayenne (1664-66), and defeated an English fleet and recovered Antigua, Montserrat, and Nevis for the French. In early life he had been a lawyer and government official in France. Upon his arrival in the colony (1682), he determined upon war with the Iroquois, and dispatched to the king urgent requests for regular troops, of whom the colony was bereft. In the spring of 1683, the Iroquois again harassed the colony, and the governor impressed a small vessel lying at Quebec to send news thereof to France. This would appear to have been the ship of one Jean Paul Meheu, seigneur of a fief of La Rivière Maheu. Some years previous, a Canadian of the same name is noted as bearing letters to France. — Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland, 1896-1901), xlv, p. 179. When this urgent request reached the court, the king determined to at once send to New France three companies of soldiers. See *Collection de Manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France* (Quebec, 1883), i, p. 310. The transport was named the "Tempest," commanded by *Sieur Pingo*. It departed from La Rochelle Aug. 29, 1683; among the officers was Lahontan, this being his first venture across seas. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> The Iroquois had long been the scourge of Canada; taking advantage of their strategic position between the English and Dutch of New York and the French of the St. Lawrence, they were attempting to control the fur-trade of the interior in the interest of the English, bringing disaster upon the colony of New France. They made war upon the Indian allies of the French on the Upper Lakes, and had recently (1680-82) inflicted a heavy blow upon the Illinois, among whom La Salle was endeavoring to found a colony. — Ed.

I met with nothing in our Passage that was disagreeable, abating for a Storm that alarm'd us for some days, upon the precipice of the bank of *Newfound-Land*, where the Waves swell prodigiously, even when the Winds are low. In that Storm our Frigate receiv'd some rude shocks from the Sea; but in regard that such accidents are usual in that Voyage, they made no impression upon the old season'd Sailors. As for my part, I could not pretend to that pitch of indifference; for having never made such a Voyage before, I was so alarm'd in seeing the Waves mount up to the Clouds, that I made more vows to *Neptune*, than the brave *Idomenæus* did in his return from the Wars of *Troy*. After we made the bank, the Waves sunk, and the Wind dwindled, and the Sea became so smooth and easy, that we could not work our Ship. You can scarce imagine what quantities of Cod-fish were catch'd there by our Seamen, in the space of a quarter of an hour; for though we had thirty two fathom Water, yet the Hook was no sooner at the bottom, than the Fish was catch'd; so that they had nothing to do but to throw in, and take up without interruption: But after all, such is the misfortune of this Fishery, that it does not succeed but upon certain banks, which are commonly past over without stopping. However, as we were plentifully [3] entertain'd at the cost of these Fishes, so such of 'em as continued in the Sea, made sufficient reprisals upon the Corps of a Captain, and of several Soldiers, who dy'd of the Scurvy, and were thrown over-board three or four days after.

In the mean time the Wind veering to the West-North-West, we were oblig'd to lye by for five or six days; but after



that it chop'd to the North, and so we happily made Cape *Rafe*, tho' indeed our Pilots were at a loss to know where we were, by reason that they could not take the Latitude for ten or twelve days before.<sup>1</sup> You may easily imagine, that 'was with great joy that we heard one of our Sailors call from the Top-Mast, *Land, Land*, just as *St. Paul* did when he approach'd to *Malta*, Ἰῆν ὄρω, γῆν ὄρω: For you must know that when the Pilots reckon they approach to Land, they use the precaution of sending up Sailors to the Top-Mast, in order to some discovery; and these Sailors are reliev'd every two hours till Night comes, at which time they furl their Sails if the Land is not yet descry'd: So that in the Night-time they scarce make any way. From this it appears how important it is to know the Coast, before you approach to it; nay, the Passengers put such a value upon the discovery, that they present the first discoverer with some Pistoles. In the mean time, you'll be pleas'd to observe, that the Needle of the Compass, which naturally points to the North, turns upon the bank of *Newfound-Land*, twenty three Degrees towards the North-West; that is, it points there a degree nearer to the West, than North-North-West. This remark we made by our Compass of Variation.

We descry'd the Cape about Noon; and in order to confirm the Discovery, stood in upon it with all sails aloft. At

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<sup>1</sup> The name *Race*, applied to the southeastern extremity of Newfoundland, is first met under the form "Cap Rogo," on a map of about the year 1500. The name seems to have been given from the French word "ras," bare or flat. See *Harris, Découverte et Evolution cartographique de Terre-Neuve* (Paris, 1900), p. 43. — Ed.

laſt, being aſſur'd that 'twas the Promontory we look'd for, an univerſal joy was [4] ſpread throughout the Ship, and the fate of the wretches that we had thrown over-board, was quite forgot. Then the Sailors ſet about the Chriſtening of thoſe who had never made the Voyage before, and indeed they had done it ſooner, if it had not been for the death of our above-mention'd Companions. The Chriſtening I ſpeak of, is an impertinent Ceremony, practis'd by Sea-faring Men, whoſe humours are as ſtrange and extravagant, as the Element it ſelf, upon which they fooliſhly truſt themſelves. By vertue of a Cuſtom of old ſtanding, they profane the Sacrament of Baptiſm in an unaccountable manner. Upon that occaſion, the old Sailors being blacken'd all over, and diſguiſ'd with Rags and Ropes, force the greener ſort that have never paſſ'd ſome certain degrees of Latitude before, to fall down on their Knees, and to ſwear upon a Book of Sea Charts, that upon all occaſions they will practiſe upon others, the ſame Ceremony that is then made uſe of towards them. After the adminiſtring of this ridiculous Oath, they throw fifty Buckets full of Water upon their Head, Belly, and Thighs, and indeed all over their Body, without any regard to times or ſeaſons. This piece of folly is chiefly practis'd under the *Æquator*, under the Tropicks, under the Polar Circles, upon the bank of *Newfound-Land*; and in the Streights of *Gibraltar*, the *Sund*, and the *Dardanelloes*. As for Perſons of Note or Character, they are exempted from the Ceremony, at the expence of five or fix bottles of Brandy for the Ships Crew.

Three or four days after the performance of this Solemnity, we discover'd Cape *Raye*,<sup>1</sup> and so made up to *St. Laurence Bay*, in the Mouth of which we were becalm'd for a little while; and during that Calm, we had a clearer and pleasanter day, than any we had seen in the Passage. It look'd as if that day had been vouchsaf'd us by way of recompence [5] for the Rains, Foggs, and high Winds, that we encounter'd by the way. There we saw an Engagement between a Whale and a

\* *Espadon, a Fish between 10 and 15 Foot long, being four Foot in circumference, and having in its Snout a sort of Saw which is four Foot long, four Inches broad, and six Lines thick.*

\* *Sword-Fish, at the distance of a Gunshot from our Frigate. We were perfectly charm'd when we saw the Sword-Fish jump out of the water in order to dart its Spear into the Body of the Whale, when oblig'd to take breath.*

This entertaining show lasted at least two hours, sometimes to the Starboard, and sometimes to the Larboard of the Ship. The Sailors, among whom Superstition prevails as much as among the *Egyptians*, took this for a preface of some mighty Storm; but the Prophecy ended in two or three days of contrary Winds, during which time we travers'd between the Island of *Newfound-Land*, and that of *Cape Breton*. Two days after we came in sight of the Island of Fowls, by the help of a North-East Wind; which drove us from the Mouth of *St. Laurence Bay*, to the Isle of *Anticosti*, upon the bank of which, we thought to have been cast

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<sup>1</sup> Cape Ray is at the southwestern extremity of Newfoundland; the name first appeared on a map of 1600. *Harris, op. cit.*, p. 285. — ED.

away, by nearing it too much. In the Mouth of that River we fell into a second calm, which was follow'd by a contrary Wind, that oblig'd us to lye bye for some days. At last we made *Tadoussac*, by gradual approaches, and there came to an Anchor.<sup>1</sup>

This River is four Leagues broad where we then rode, and twenty two at its Mouth; but it contracts it self gradually, as it approaches to its source. Two days after, the Wind standing East, we weigh'd Anchor; and being favor'd by the Tyde, got safe through the Channel of the Red Island, in which the Currents are apt to turn a Vessel on one side, as well as at the Island of *Coudres*, which lies some Leagues higher.<sup>2</sup> But upon the Coast of the last [6] Island, we had certainly struck upon the Rocks, if we had not drop'd an Anchor. Had the Ship been cast away at that place, we might easily have sav'd our

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<sup>1</sup> The Island of Fowls is probably the group still known as Bird Rocks, in St. Lawrence Gulf, north of Magdalen Islands.

*Anticosti* is a large island one hundred and forty miles long by about twenty-seven in average breadth. It lies in the mouth of St. Lawrence River, and three years before this voyage of Lahontan had been granted as a seigniory of Louis Jolliet, the Mississippi explorer.

*Tadoussac*, at the entrance of Saguenay River, is one of the oldest towns in Canada, having been founded before Quebec. It was the favorite resort of the Montagnais Indians, and the centre of a thriving fur-trade and fishery. The Récollets said mass here as early as 1617; and here the hostile English fleet, under Admiral Sir David Kirk, anchored in July, 1628. The Jesuits began a mission at *Tadoussac* before 1642, and one of their early churches (built 1647-50) is still to be seen.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Red Island is that now known as *Isle Rouge*, in the St. Lawrence opposite *Tadoussac*. It was early noted for its seal fishing. See *Jesuit Relations*, xxxii, p. 93.

*Isle aux Coudres* was so designated for the hazelnut bushes with which it abounded, and appears to have been so named by Cartier. The early voyagers speak of the number of elk to be found on this island.—ED.

felves: But it prov'd so, that we were more affraid than hurt. Next Morning we weighed with a fresh gale from the East, and the next day after came to an Anchor over against Cape *Tourmente*, where we had not above two Leagues over, tho' at the same time 'tis a dangerous place to those who are unacquainted with the Channel.<sup>1</sup> From thence we had but seven Leagues failing to the Port of *Quebec*, where we now ride at Anchor. In our Passage from the red Island to this place, we saw such floats of Ice, and so much Snow upon the Land, that we were upon the point of turning back for *France*, tho' we were not then above thirty Leagues off our desired Port. We were affraid of being stop'd by the Ice, and so lost; but thank God we 'scap'd.

We have receiv'd advice, that the Governor has mark'd out Quarters for our Troops in some Villages or Cantons adjacent to this City; so that I am oblig'd to prepare to go ashore, and therefore must make an end of this Letter. I cannot as yet give you any account of the Country, excepting that 'tis already mortally cold. As to the River, I mean to give you a more ample description of it, when I come to know it better. We are informed that Mr. *de la Salle* is just return'd from his Travels, which he undertook upon the discovery of a great River that falls into the Gulf of *Mexico*; and that he

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<sup>1</sup> Cape Tourmente is a lofty promontory on the St. Lawrence, about twenty miles below Quebec, towering nineteen hundred feet above the meadows (Beaupré) at its base. It was so named by Champlain (1608), who noted that "however little wind may blow the sea there is as if it were high tide. At this place the water begins to be fresh." — ED.

imbarques to morrow for *France*.<sup>1</sup> He is perfectly well acquainted with *Canada*, and for that reason you ought to visit him, if you go to *Paris* this Winter. I am,

S I R,

*Yours, &c.*

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<sup>1</sup> René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, had just returned from his successful journey into the interior, where he had explored the Mississippi and in Illinois founded the colony of St. Louis. Frontenac, his patron, had been replaced, and the new governor gave a ready ear to La Salle's detractors. The fortunes of the explorer were desperate, and he was about to embark for France to seek redress at court. This was his farewell to Canada, his final voyage being made to the Gulf of Mexico, upon whose waters he was assassinated (March 18, 1687).—ED.

## LETTER II.

Dated at the Canton of *Beaupré*,<sup>1</sup> May 2. 1684.

*Containing a Description of the Plantations of Canada, and the manner in which they were first form'd: As also an account of the Transportation of Whores from France to that Country; together with a view of its Climate and Soil.*

SIR,

AS soon as we landed last year, Mr. *de la Barre* lodg'd our three Companies in some Cantons or Quarters in the Neighbourhood of *Quebec*. The Planters call these places *Cotes*, which in *France* signifies no more than the Sea-Coast; tho' in this Country where the names of *Town* and *Village* are unknown, that word is made use of to express a Seignory or Manour, the Houses of which lie at the distance of two or three hundred Paces one from another, and are seated on the brink of the River of St. *Laurence*.<sup>2</sup> In earnest, Sir, the Boors of those

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<sup>1</sup> The three companies were quartered at villages in the vicinity of Quebec. It fell to Lahontan's lot to pass the winter in the seignory of *Beaupré*, which stretched for six leagues along the river and embraced more than the present county of *Montmorency*. *Beaupré* was early settled, and as a Jesuit seignory received much attention. At this time it was considered the most orderly and thrifty settlement in the colony. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Feudalism was established in New France by the act of Richelieu, in his grant to the Company of One Hundred Associates (1627). Seigniorial tenure was not abolished in Lower Canada (Province of Quebec) until 1854. On the influence of this system see Parkman, *Old Regime in Canada* (Boston, 1874), chap. xv; Weir, *Administration of the Old Regime in Canada* (Montreal, 1896-97). — ED.

Manors live with more ease and conveniency, than an infinity of the Gentlemen in *France*. I am out indeed in calling 'em Boors, for that name is as little known here as in *Spain*; whether it be that they pay no Taxes, and enjoy the liberty of Hunting and Fishing; or that the easiness of their Life, puts 'em upon a level with the Nobility. The poorest of them have four † *Arpents* of Ground in front, and thirty or forty in depth: The whole Country being a continued Forrest of lofty Trees, the stumps

† *An Arpent is a spot of ground containing 100 Perches square, each of which is eighteen Foot long.*

[8] of which must be grub'd up, before they can make use of a Plough. 'Tis true, this is a troublesome and chargeable task at first; but in a short time after they make up their Losses; for when the Virgin ground is capable of receiving Seed, it yields an increase to the rate of an hundred fold. Corn is there sown in *May*, and reap'd about the middle of *September*. Instead of threshing the Sheafs in the Field, they convey 'em to Barns, where they lie till the coldest season of the Winter, at which time the Grain is more easily disengag'd from the Ear. In this Country they likewise sow Pease, which are much esteem'd in *France*. All sorts of Grain are very cheap here, as well as Butchers Meat and Fowl. The price of Wood is almost nothing, in comparison with the charge of its carriage, which after all is very inconsiderable.

Most of the Inhabitants are a free sort of People that remov'd hither from *France*, and brought with 'em but little Money to set up withal: The rest are those who were Soldiers about thirty or forty years ago, at which time the Regiment



of *Carignan* was broke, and they exchange'd a Military Post, for the Trade of *Agriculture*.<sup>1</sup> Neither the one nor the other pay'd any thing for the grounds they possess, no more than the Officers of these Troops, who mark'd out to themselves, certain portions of unmanur'd and woody Lands; for this vast Continent is nothing else than one continued Forrest. The Governours General allow'd the Officers three or four Leagues of ground in front, with as much depth as they pleas'd; and at the same time the Officers gave the Soldiers as much ground as they pleas'd, upon the condition of the payment of a Crown *per Arpent*, by way of Fief.

After the reform of these Troops, several Ships were sent hither from *France*, with a Cargoe of Women of an ordinary Reputation, under the direction [9] of some old stale Nuns, who rang'd 'em in three Classes. The Vestal Virgins were heap'd up, (if I may so speak) one above another, in three different Apartments, where the Bridegrooms singled out their Brides, just as a Butcher do's an Ewe from amongst a Flock of Sheep. In these three *Seraglio's*, there was such variety and change of Diet, as could satisfy the most whimsical Appetites; for here was some big some little, some fair some brown, some fat and some meagre. In fine, there was such Accommodation,

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<sup>1</sup> Lahontan's chronology is quite inaccurate; scarcely twenty years had passed since the regiment of Carignan-Salières, the first regular troops in New France, was ordered to America. This command had seen service in France and against the Turks. Coming to Canada in 1665, the soldiers were effectively employed against the Iroquois. A few years later several companies were disbanded, and urged to become colonists. Rewards in money and land were given those who married and settled in the province, and the descendants of these soldiers were among the most able and prominent citizens of the colony. See Sulte, "Le Regiment de Carignan," in Canadian Royal Society *Proceedings*, 2d series, viii, pp. 25-95. — ED.

# OF HURONS

*Ull of Bois blanc.*

*Surprising currents, running both ways*

THE MOUTH of ILLINESE LAKE

*A. afrench village*

*B. the Definite house*

*C. the Hurons Village*

*D. the fields of the Savages*

*E. a Village of 4 Outposts*

*Life of Miss*

*Life of Miss*

# LAKE

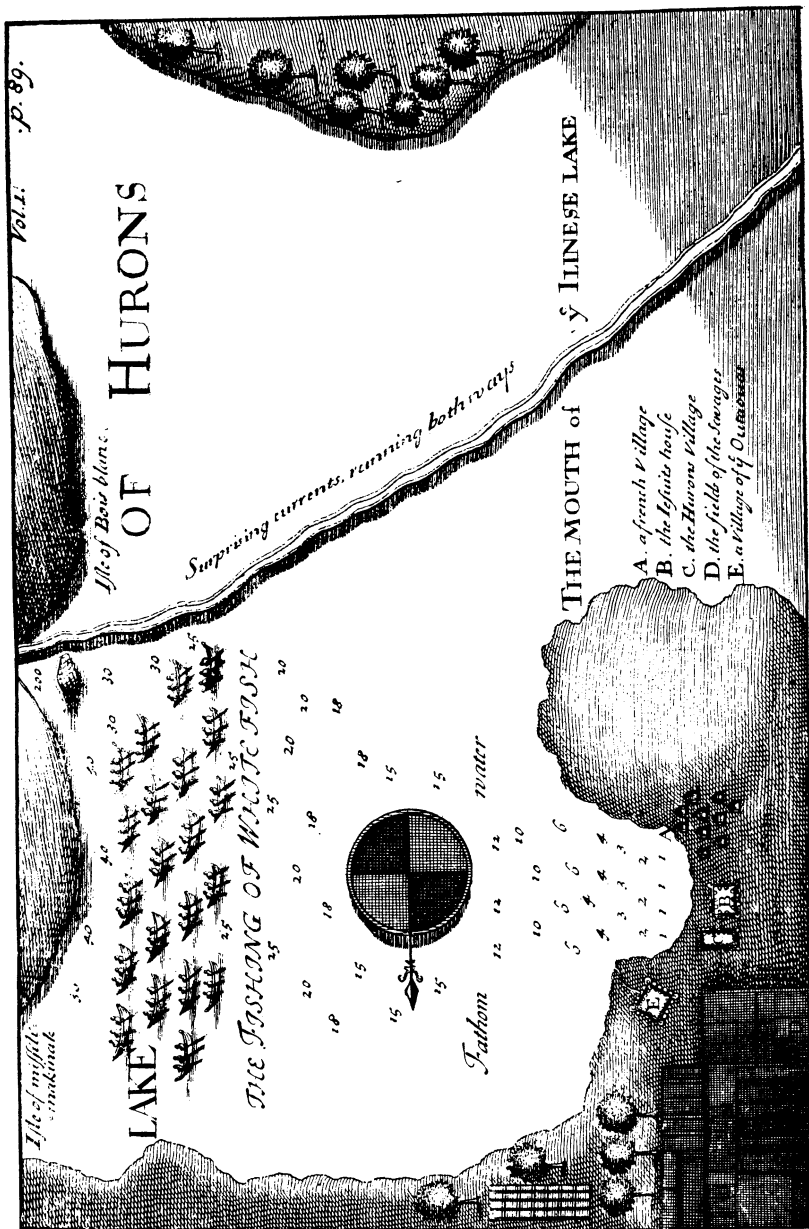
# THE FISHING OF WHITE FISH

*Fathom*

*Went*



6 6 4 3 2 1  
6 6 4 3 2 1  
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6 6 4 3 2 1





that every one might be fitted to his Mind: And indeed the Market had such a run, that in fifteen days time, they were all dispos'd of. I am told, that the fattest went off best, upon the apprehension that these being less active, would keep truer to their Engagements, and hold out better against the nipping cold of the Winter: But after all, a great many of the He-Adventurers found themselves mistaken in their measures. However, let that be as it will, it affords a very curious Remark; namely, That in some parts of the World, to which the vicious *European* Women are transported, the Mob of those Countries do's seriously believe, that their Sins are so defac'd by the ridiculous Christening, I took notice of before, that they are look'd upon ever after as Ladies of Vertue, of Honour, and of an untarnish'd conduct of Life. The Sparks that wanted to be married, made their Addresses to the above-mention'd Governesses, to whom they were oblig'd to give an account of their Goods and Estates, before they were allow'd to make their choice in the three *Seraglio's*. After the choice was determin'd, the Marriage was concluded upon the spot, in the presence of a Priest, and a publick Notary; and the next day the Governor-General bestow'd upon the married Couple, a Bull, a Cow, a Hog, a Sow, a Cock, a Hen, two Barrels of salt Meat, and eleven Crowns; together with [10] a certain Coat of Arms call'd by the *Greeks* || κέρατα.<sup>1</sup> || *Horns*

<sup>1</sup> This slanderous and apparently malicious account of the mothers of the Canadian population has brought much obloquy upon our author. For a refutation from contemporary documents, see Parkman, *Old Regime*, pp. 221-230; Roy, "Le Baron de Lahontan," *Can. Roy. Soc. Proc.*, 1894, sec. 1, pp. 150-162; Sulte, "Pretendues Origines des Canadiens français," in *Id.*, 1885, sec. 1, pp. 13-26. — ED.

The Officers having a nicer taste than the Soldiers, made their Application to the Daughters of the ancient Gentlemen of the Country, or those of the richer sort of Inhabitants; for you know that *Canada* has been possess'd by the *French* above an hundred years.

In this Country every one lives in a good and a well furnish'd House; and most of the Houses are of Wood, and two Stories high. Their Chimnies are very large, by reason of the prodigious Fires they make to guard themselves from the Cold, which is there beyond all measure, from the Month of *December*, to that of *April*. During that space of time, the River is always frozen over, notwithstanding the flowing and ebbing of the Sea; and the Snow upon the ground, is three or four foot deep; which is very strange in a Country that lies in the Latitude of forty seven Degrees, and some odd Minutes. Most People impute the extraordinary Snow to the number of Mountains, with which this vast Continent is replenish'd. Whatever is in that matter, I must take notice of one thing, that seems very strange, namely, that the Summer days are longer here than at *Paris*. The Weather is then so clear and serene, that in three Weeks time you shall not see a Cloud in the *Horizon*. I hope to go to *Quebec* with the first opportunity; for I have orders to be in a readiness to imbarque within fifteen days for *Monreal*, which is the City of this Country, that lies farthest up towards the Head of the River.

I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

## [11] LETTER III.

Dated at *Quebec* May 15. 1684.

*Containing an ample Description of the City of Quebec, and of the  
Island of Orleans.*

S I R,

**B**EFORE I fet out for *Monreal*, I had the curiosity to view the Island of *Orleans*, which is seven Leagues in length, and three in breadth: It extends from over against Cape *Tourmente*, to within a League and a half of *Quebec*, at which place the River divides it self into two branches. The Ships sail through the South Channel; for the North Channel is so foul with Shelves and Rocks, that the small Boats can only pass that way. The Island belongs to a General Farmer of *France*, who would make out of it a thousand Crowns of yearly Rent, if himself had the management of it. 'Tis furrounded with Plantations, that produce all sorts of Grain.<sup>1</sup>

*Quebec* is the Metropolitan of New-*France*, being almost a League in Circumference; It lies in the Latitude of 47 Degrees, and 12 Minutes. The Longitude of this place is uncer-

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<sup>1</sup>The island of Orleans, which lies in the St. Lawrence near Quebec, is twenty-one miles long by about five in width. It was named by Cartier (1535) Isle of Bacchus, but subsequently given its present appellation by the same explorer. This island was granted as a fief in 1636. At the time of Lahontan it was a fief-noble in the possession of the family of Berthelot. See Bois, *L'Isle d'Orleans* (Quebec, 1895). — ED.

tain,<sup>1</sup> as well as that of several other Countries, with the leave of the Geographers, that reckon you up 1200 Leagues from *Rochel* to *Quebec*, without taking the pains to measure the Course: However, I am sure that it lies but at too great a distance from *France*, for the Ships that are bound hither; For their passage commonly lasts for two Months and a half, whereas the homeward bound Ships may in 30 or 40 days sailing, easily make the *Belle Isle*, which is the surest [12] and most usual Land, that a Ship makes upon a long Voyage. The reason of this difference, is, that the Winds are Easterly for 100 days of the year, and Westerly for 260.

*Quebec* is divided into the upper and the lower City. The Merchants live in the latter, for the conveniency of the Harbor; upon which they have built very fine Houses, three Story high, of a sort of Stone that's as hard as Marble. The upper or high City is full as populous, and as well adorn'd as the lower. Both Cities are commanded by a Castle, that stands upon the highest Ground. This Castle is the Residence of the Governours, and affords them not only convenient Apartments, but the noblest and most extensive Prospect in the World. *Quebec* wants two essential things, namely, a Key and Fortifications; though both the one and the other might be easily made, considering the conveniency of Stones lying upon the spot.<sup>2</sup> 'Tis incompass'd with several Springs, of the

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<sup>1</sup> The true latitude of *Quebec* is 46° 49' north; the longitude, 71° 13' west of Greenwich. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Champlain began the fortifications of *Quebec* by the founding of Fort St. Louis on the citadel rock. This building was replaced in stone by his successor Montmagny, who also laid the foundations for the first Chateau St. Louis, which was

best fresh Water in the World, which the Inhabitants draw out of Wells; for they are so ignorant of the Hydrostaticks, that not one of 'em knows how to convey the Water to certain Basins, in order to raise either flat or spouting Fountains. Those who live on the River side, in the lower City, are not half so much pinch'd with the Cold, as the Inhabitants of the upper; besides that the former have a peculiar conveniency of transporting in Boats, Corn, Wood, and other Necessaries, to the very Doors of their Houses: But as the latter are more expos'd to the injuries of the Cold, so they enjoy the benefit and pleasure of a cooler Summer. The way which leads from the one City to the other is pretty broad, and adorn'd with Houses on each side; only 'tis a little steep. *Quebec* stands upon a very uneven Ground; and its Houses are not uniform.<sup>1</sup> The Intendant lives in a [13] bottom, at some small distance from the side of a little River, which by joyning the River of *St. Laurence*, coops up the City in a right Angle. His House is the Palace in which the Sovereign Council assembles four times a Week<sup>2</sup>; and on one side of which, we see great Magazines

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demolished in 1694 to make way for the finer structure which Frontenac constructed during his last years. See Gagnon, *Le Fort et le Chateau St. Louis* (Quebec, 1895). Quebec's walls were not built until the latter years of Frontenac; again, in 1720, Chassegras de Léry made great improvements in the circumvallation, and enlarged the area contained therein. Repairs and improvements were maintained throughout the French régime. See Doughty and Dionne, *Quebec under Two Flags* (Quebec, 1903), pp. 101-145. — ED.

<sup>1</sup> For a plan of Quebec at this period, see that of J. B. Franquelin (1683), in Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens français*, ii, p. 32; and another of 1700 in the same work, p. 49. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> The sovereign council was established by the king upon the retrocession of the colony by the Company of New France (1663). It was first composed of the governor,



of Ammunition and Provisions. There are fix Churches in the High City : The Cathedral confists of a Bishop, and twelve Prebendaries, who live in common in the Chapter-House, the Magnificence and Architecture of which is truly wonderful. These poor Priests are a very good sort of People ; they content themselves with bare Necessaries, and meddle with nothing but the Affairs of the Church, where the Service is perform'd after the *Roman* way.<sup>1</sup> The second Church is that of the Jesuits, which stands in the Center of the City ; and is a fair, stately, and well lighted Edifice. The great Altar of the Jesuits

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bishop, and five appointed councillors. Later, the intendant was added to the council, and the number gradually increased to twelve. Its functions were mainly judicial, but it likewise took cognizance of civil and financial affairs. Its records have been published.

At first the council met in the ante-room of the governor's palace, but upon the complaint of the intendant the ministry ordered the purchase of the site of a brewery formerly erected by Talon upon St. Charles River. Here the intendant's palace was begun. This was burned in 1713, being rebuilt upon a scale of splendor. The site is once more occupied by a brewery. — ED.

<sup>1</sup> The cathedral of Notre Dame, now called the "Basilica," was long the only parish church of Quebec. Begun in 1647, the first mass was said therein three years later ; it was consecrated by Bishop Laval in 1666. In the early eighteenth century its size was found inadequate, and it was rebuilt after the plans of the chief engineer of New France, Chaussegros de Léry (1747-48). The building suffered much during the English siege (1759), all the wooden parts being burned. Repairs were instituted in 1769-71, since when only minor changes have been made. The chapter house, or Seminary, which had been begun in 1678, was considered one of the finest buildings in the country. See Têtu, *Histoire du palais épiscopal de Quebec* (Quebec, 1896). The Seminary priests officiated as secular parish curés. Lahontan's encomiums are the more remarkable, that his sympathies were seldom with ecclesiastics. It appears that the altar and its columns was a superfluous invention upon his part. The Jesuit historian Charlevoix, writing of this church in 1720 (*Journal Historique*, letter iii), indicates that there was no such ornament, and indulgently remarks : "One would voluntarily pardon that author [Lahontan] if he disfigured the truth only to giveuster to churches." — ED.

Church, is adorn'd with four great Cylindrical Columns of one Stone; The Stone being a sort of *Canada* Porphyry, and black as Jet, without either Spots or Veins. These Fathers have very convenient and large Apartments, beautify'd with pleasant Gardens, and several rows of Trees, which are so thick and bushy, that in Summer one might take their Walks for an Ice-House: And indeed we may say without stretching, that there is Ice not far from 'em, for the good Fathers are never without a reserve in two or three places, for the cooling of their Drink. Their College is so small, that at the best they have scarce fifty Scholars at a time.<sup>1</sup> The third Church is that of the Recollects, who, through the intercession of Count *Frontenac*, obtain'd leave of the King to build a little Chappel (which I call a Church;) notwithstanding the Remonstrances of Mr. *de Laval* our Bishop, who, in concert with the Jesuits, us'd his utmost Efforts for ten years together to hinder it.<sup>2</sup> Before the building [14] of this Chappel, they liv'd in a

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<sup>1</sup> The Jesuits came to Canada in 1625, and thereafter played a prominent part in the development of the colony. Their college was founded in 1635, a year before that of Harvard, making it the oldest institution of learning on the North American continent. The church occupied the northeast angle of the college, on the site of the present Jesuit barracks. The city hall now covers the larger portion of the site of the college and its gardens. At the time of Lahontan's visit, the Jesuit church was in size and decoration far superior to the cathedral. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> François de Montmorency-Laval, first bishop of Canada, was born in 1623 and educated in a Jesuit seminary. Upon the death of his brothers, he became heir of a seignior in France, but renounced it for the service of the church. In 1658 he was made bishop of *Petræa* and sent as vicar apostolic to New France. In 1674 Quebec was raised to a bishopric, and Laval made first bishop thereof, a position which he resigned in 1684. Four years later he returned to spend the remainder of his days in Canada, where he died in 1708. He supported the Jesuits, and was opposed to the re-introduction of the Recollects. — ED.

little Hospital that the Bishop had order'd to be built for 'em; and some of 'em continue there still.<sup>1</sup> The fourth Church is that of the *Urfelines*, which has been burn'd down two or three times, and still rebuilt to the Advantage. The fifth is that of the Hospital-Order, who take a particular Care of the Sick, tho' themselves are poor, and but ill lodg'd.<sup>2</sup>

The Sovereign Council is held at *Quebec*. It consists of twelve Counsellors of \* *Capa y de spada*, who  
 \* *See the Explication Table.* are the supreme Judicature, and decide all Causes without Appeal. The Intendant claims a Right of being President to the Council; but in the Justice-Hall the Governour-General places himself so as to face him, the Judges being set on both sides of them; so that one would think they are both Presidents. While *Monfieur de Fron-*

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<sup>1</sup> The Recollects (a branch of the Franciscans) were the first ecclesiastics to enter New France, coming over in 1615. During their first occupation they had a small convent called Notre Dame des Anges, on St. Charles River, where the General Hospital of Quebec is now situated. After the capture of Quebec by the English (1628), the friars were sent back to France; and the order did not return to this field until 1670, when they were sent out as a counterpoise to the Jesuits. Frontenac favored this order, and gave them a concession of land facing the governor's palace, where they built the chapel here mentioned by Lahontan, although some of the brothers were still living at their suburban convent, Notre Dame des Anges. This church of the Recollects was one of the finest in New France, being finished in 1681. Charlevoix said in the next century, that it was "worthy of Versailles." In 1796 it was burned, the site now being occupied by the Anglican cathedral of Quebec; the court house occupies a portion of the convent grounds. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> The Ursulines were the first order of nuns to come to New France (1639), which they did under the patronage of Madame de la Peltrie. Two years later they began their convent, which still occupies the original site, although the buildings have several times been burned, and recently much enlarged.

The Hospitalières came over at the same time as the Ursulines, and founded Hôtel Dieu, a great hospital which still exists on the same site where the corner stone was laid in 1654. — ED.

*tenac* was in *Canada*, he laugh'd at the pretended Precedency of the Intendants; nay he used the Members of that Assembly as roughly as *Cromwell* did the Parliament of *England*. At this Court every one pleads his own Cause, for Solicitors or Barristers never appear there; by which means it comes to pass, that Law-Suits are quickly brought to a Period, without demanding Court Fees or any other Charges from the contending Parties. The Judges, who have but four hundred Livres a Year from the King, have a Dispensation of not wearing the Robe and the Cap. Besides this Tribunal, we have in this Country a Lieutenant-General, both Civil and Military, an Attorney-General, the Great Provost, and a Chief Justice in Eyre.<sup>1</sup>

The way of travelling in the Winter, whether in Town or Country, is that of Sledges drawn by Horses; who are so insensible of the Cold, that I have seen fifty or sixty of 'em in *January* and *February* stand in the Snow up to their Breast, in the [15] midst of a Wood, without ever offering to go near their Owner's House. In the Winter-time they travel from *Quebec* to *Monreal* upon the Ice, the River being then frozen over; and upon that occasion these Sledges will run you fifteen Leagues a day. Others have their Sledges drawn by two Mastiff Dogs, but then they are longer by the way. As for their way of travelling in Summer, I shall transmit you an Account of it, when I come to be better inform'd. I am told that the People

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<sup>1</sup> One of the chief causes of dissension between Frontenac and the intendant, was the presidency of the supreme council. See Parkman, *Frontenac*, pp. 47-71. On the officers of justice, see Weir, *Administration of Old Regime*, pp. 63-67. — ED.

of this Country will go a thousand Leagues in Canows of Bark; a Description of which you may expect, as soon as I have made use of 'em. The Easterly Winds prevail here commonly in the Spring and Autumn; and the Westerly have the Ascendant in Winter and Summer. Adieu Sir: I must now make an end of my Letter, for my Matter begins to run short. All I can say, is, that as soon as I am better instructed in what relates to the Commerce, and the Civil and Ecclesiastical Government of the Country, I'll transmit you such exact Memoirs of the same, as shall give you full satisfaction. These you may expect with the first Opportunity; for in all Appearance our Troops will return after the Conclusion of the Campaign that we are now going to make in the Country of the *Iroquesse*, under the Command of *Monsieur de la Barre*. In seven or eight Days time I mean to imbark for *Monreal*; and in the mean time am going to make a Progress to the Villages of *Scilleri*, of *Saut de la Chaudiere*, and of *Lorete*, which are inhabited by the *Abenakis* and the *Hurons*. These Places are not above three or four Leagues off; so that I may return with ease next Week. As for the Manners of the People, I cannot pretend to describe 'em so soon; for a just Observation and Knowledge of these things cannot be compass'd without time. I have been this Winter at hunting with thirty or [16] forty young *Algonkins*, who were well made clever Fellows. My Design in accompanying them, was, to learn their Language, which is mightily esteem'd in this Country; for all the other Nations for a thousand Leagues round (excepting the *Iroquesse* and the *Hurons*) understand it perfectly well; nay, all their

respective Tongues come as near to this, as the *Portuguese* does to the *Spanish*.<sup>1</sup> I have already made my self Master of some Words with a great deal of Facility; and they being mightily pleased in seeing a Stranger study their Tongue take all imaginable pains to instruct me. I am,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

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<sup>1</sup> The Algonquian language was the most wide-spread of the Indian dialects of North America, being used by most of the tribes east of the Mississippi and south of Hudson Bay. The Huron-Iroquois stock were aliens in their midst. See Powell, "Linguistic Families of North America," in U. S. Bureau of Ethnology *Report*, 1885-86.

The Algonkins proper were a tribe whose original home was in the province of Quebec. See *Jesuit Relations*, index. — ED.

## LETTER IV.

Dated at *Monreal*, June 14. 1684.

*Containing a brief Description of the Habitations of the Savages in the Neighbourhood of Quebec; Of the River of St. Lawrence, &c. as far up as Monreal; Of a curious way of fishing Eels; and of the Cities of Trois Rivieres and Monreal: Together with an Account of the Conduct of the \* Coureurs de Bois. See the Explication Table. of the \* Forrest Rangers or Pedlers.*

SIR,

**B**EFORE my Departure from *Quebec*, I visited the adjacent Villages inhabited by the Savages. The Village of *Lorete* is peopled by two hundred Families [17] of *Hurons*, who were converted to Christianity by the Jesuits, though with a great deal of Reluctancy.<sup>1</sup> The Villages of *Silleri*, and of *Saut de la Chaudiere*, are compos'd of three hundred Families of *Abenakis*, who are likewise Christians, and among whom the Jesuits have

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<sup>1</sup> The village of Lorette was a mission colony of the Jesuits, founded after the destruction of the Huron mission by the Iroquois (1649). Part of the instructed Hurons sought the fathers at Quebec, and were first established on the Isle of Orleans; later, during the Iroquois war, the remnant was removed to a less-exposed situation, and by 1669 settled at Notre Dame de Foye (now Ste. Foye). A few years later, this colony removed to the village of Lorette (now Ancienne Lorette), and there Lahontan visited them. In 1697, impelled by need of fresh fuel and land, they founded the village of Jeune Lorette, eight miles from Montreal, which became their final home, and where a remnant of the Huron race is still to be found. — ED.

fetled Missionaries.<sup>1</sup> I return'd to *Quebec* time enough, and imbarqued under the conduct of a Master, that would rather have had a Lading of Goods, than of Soldiers. The North-East Winds wafted us in five or six days to *Trois Rivières*, which is the name of a small City, seated at the distance of thirty Leagues from hence. That City derives its name from three Rivers, that spring from one Channel, and after continuing their division for some space re-unite into a joynt Stream, that falls into the River of *St. Laurence*, about half a quarter of a League below the Town. Had we sail'd all Night, the Tides would have carry'd us thither in two days time; but in regard that the River is full of Rocks and Shelves, we durst not venture upon it in the dark; so, we came to an Anchor every Night, which did not at all displease me; for in the course of thirty Leagues, (notwithstanding the darkness of the Night) it gave me an opportunity of viewing an infinite number of Habitations on each side of the River, which are not above a Musket-Shot distant one from another. The Inhabitants that are settled between *Quebec* and fifteen Leagues higher, diverted me very agreeably with the fishing of Eels. At low

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<sup>1</sup> The mission colony at Sillery was originally founded for the Algonkins, Montagnais, etc.; but its inhabitants were decimated by disease and the ravages of intoxication, so that the converted Abenaki from Maine, who began coming to Canada about 1680, formed the main body of the colony. The mission was maintained here until 1699, when the land which had been ceded in trust for the Indian converts was retroceded to the Jesuit order.

"Le Saut de la Chaudière" was a village on the river of that name, opposite Quebec, where was established about the time Lahontan arrived in Canada, the Abenaki mission of St. François de Sales. In 1700 all the scattered villages were collected in one, which exists till the present time—that of St. François du Lac, in Yamaska County, Quebec.—ED.



water they stretch out Hurdles to the lowest Water-Mark; and that space of ground being then dry by the retreat of the Water, is cover'd over, and shut up by the Hurdles. Between the Hurdles they place at certain distances Instruments call'd *Ruchés*, from the resemblance they bear to a Bee-hive; besides Baskets and little Nets belag'd upon a Pole, which they call *Bouteux*, and *Bouts de Quievres*. Then they let all stand in this fashion for three Months in [18] the Spring, and two in the Autumn. Now as often as the Tide comes in, the Eels looking out for shallow places, and making towards the Shoar, croud in among the Hurdles, which hinder 'em afterwards to retire with the Ebb-water; upon that they are forc'd to bury themselves in the abovementioned Ingines, which are sometimes so over-cram'd, that they break. When 'tis low water, the Inhabitants take out these Eels, which are certainly the biggest, and the longest in the World. They salt them up in Barrels, where they'll keep a whole year without spoiling: And indeed they give an admirable relish in all Sauces; nay, there's nothing that the Council of *Quebec* desires more, than that this Fishery should be equally plentiful in all years.

*Trois Rivières* is a little paltry Town, seated in the Latitude of forty six Degrees; 'tis not fortified neither with Stone, nor Pales. The River to which it owes its name, takes its rise an hundred Leagues to the North-Weſt, from the greatest ridge of Mountains in the Universe. The *Algonkins* who are at present an Erratick fort of Savages, and, like the *Arabs*, have no settled Abode; that People, I say, seldom straggle far from the banks of this River, upon which they have excellent Beaver-

hunting. In former times the *Iroquefe* cut off three fourths of that Nation; but they have not dar'd to renew their Incurfions, fince the *French* have Peopled the Countries that lie higher up upon the River of St. *Laurence*. I call'd *Trois Rivières* a little Town, with reference to the paucity of the Inhabitants; though at the fame time they are very rich, and live in ftately Houfes. The King has made it the Refidence of a Governor, who would die for Hunger, if he did not trade with the Natives for Beavers, when his fmall allowance is out: Befides, a Man that would live there, muft be of the like temper with a Dog, or at leaft he muft take pleafure in fcratching [19] his Skin, for the Flea's are there more numerous than the grains of Sand. I am inform'd, that the Natives of this place make the beft Soldiers in the Country.<sup>1</sup>

Three Leagues higher we enter'd St. *Peter's* Lake, which is fix Leagues long, and had difficulty enough in croffing it; for the frequent Calms oblig'd us to caft Anchor feveral times. It receives three or four Rivers that abound with Fifh; upon the Mouth of which, I defcry'd with my Telescope very fine Houfes.<sup>2</sup> Towards the Evening we fail'd out of that Lake

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<sup>1</sup> For the history of *Trois Rivières*, on the St. Lawrence at the mouth of Maurice River, see Sulte, "La Rivière des Trois Rivières," *Roy. Soc. Proc.*, 1901, pp. 97-116. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Lake St. Peters was christened Lac d'Angoulême by Cartier; but Champlain crossing it on the day of the saint, changed the name in the latter's honor. It is an enlargement of the St. Lawrence, twenty-five miles long by about nine broad, in the midst of the most fertile region of Lower Canada. It receives several rivers, chief of which are the Du Loup and Maskinonge from the north; the Nicolet, St. Francis, and Yamaska from the south, not including River Richelieu, which enters the St. Lawrence at the upper end of the lake. — ED.

with a fresh Easterly Gale; and though we hoisted up all our Sails, the Current run so strong against us, that 'twas three hours before we could make *Sorel*, which was two small Leagues off.<sup>1</sup> *Sorel* is a Canton of four Leagues in front, in the neighbourhood of which, a certain River conveys the waters of *Champlain* Lake, to the River of *St. Laurence*, after having form'd a Water-fall of two Leagues at *Chambly*.<sup>2</sup> Though we reckon but eight Leagues from *Sorel* to *Monreal*, yet we spent three days in failing between 'em; by reason partly of flack Winds, and partly of the strength of the Currents. In this course we saw nothing but Islands; and both sides of the River all along from *Quebec* to this place, are so replenish'd with Inhabitants, that one may justly call 'em two continued Villages of sixty Leagues in length.

This place, which goes by the name of *Villemarie*, or *Monreal*, lies in the Latitude of forty five Degrees, and some Minutes; being seated in an Island of the same name, which is about five Leagues broad, and fourteen Leagues long. The Directors of the Seminary of *St. Sulpitius* at *Paris*, are the Proprietors of the Island, and have the nomination of a Bailiff, and several other Magistrates; nay, in former times they had

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<sup>1</sup> Fort *Sorel* was built by an officer of that name (*Pierre de Saurel*), in 1665. Three years later he married the daughter of a Canadian seigneur, and in 1672 received a grant of the seigniory of *Sorel*, where he lived until his death in 1682.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> *Chambly* was named for *Jacques de Chambly*, captain in the *Carignan* regiment, whom *Tracy* sent (1665) to build an advance fort against the *Iroquois*. He received the surrounding land as a seigniory in 1672, but the next year was sent to command in *Acadia*. Later he removed to *Grenada*, and *Chambly* passed to his nephew.—ED.

the privilege of nominating a Governor.<sup>1</sup> This little Town lies all open without any Fortification [20] either of Stone or Wood: But its situation is so advantageous, notwithstanding that it stands upon an uneven and sandy Ground, that it might easily be made an impregnable Post. The River of St. *Laurence* which runs just by the Houses, on one side of this Town, is not Navigable further, by reason of its rapidity; for about half a quarter of a League higher, 'tis full of rapid falls, Eddy's, &c. Mr. *Perot* the Governor of the Town, who has but a thousand Crowns a year Salary; has made shift to get fifty thousand in a few years, by trading with the Savages in Skins and Furs.<sup>2</sup> The Bailiff of the Town gets but little by his place, no more than his Officers: So that the Merchants are the only Persons that make Money here; for the Savages that frequent the great Lakes of *Canada*, come down hither almost every year with a prodigious quantity of

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<sup>1</sup> Montreal was a religious colony, founded (1642) by a society of Associates of Montreal, who received the island as a seignior. In 1663 the number of the Associates being much diminished, the Sulpitians of Paris agreed to take charge of the enterprise, and the seignior was transferred to them, with the rights here mentioned by Lahontan. The Sulpitians held their seigniorial privileges until the abolition of feudal tenure in 1854; they still retain much land in Montreal and vicinity. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> François Marie Perrot came to Canada with the intendant Talon (1670), whose niece he had married. Upon the request of Talon, the Sulpitians named him governor of Montreal, a grant which was later confirmed by the king. Perrot abused his privileges to enrich himself, and protected the coureurs des bois. Involved in a dispute with Frontenac, the governor arrested Perrot and sent him to France for trial. The ministry, after punishing him by a brief imprisonment in the Bastille, restored him to his governorship, where he remained until 1684. In this year he was appointed governor of Acadia, which position he held for three years. After his recall, he remained in the country as a trader, and in 1690 was captured by the English. The date of his death is unknown. — ED.

Beavers-Skins, to be given in exchange for Arms, Kettles, Axes, Knives, and a thousand such things, upon which the Merchants clear two hundred *per Cent*. Commonly the Governor General comes hither about the time of their coming down, in order to share the profit, and receive Presents from that People. The Pedlers call'd *Coueurs de Bois*, export from hence every year several Canows full of Merchandise, which they dispose of among all the Savage Nations of the Continent, by way of exchange for Beaver-Skins. Seven or eight days ago, I saw twenty five or thirty of these Canows return with heavy Cargoes; each Canow was manag'd by two or three Men, and carry'd twenty hundred weight, *i. e.* forty packs of Beaver Skins, which are worth an hundred Crowns a piece. These Canows had been a year and eighteen Months out. You would be amaz'd if you saw how lewd these Pedlers are when they return; how they Feast and Game, and how prodigal they are, not only in their Cloaths, but [21] upon Women. Such of 'em as are married, have the wisdom to retire to their own Houses; but the Batchelors act just as our *East-India-Men*, and Pirates are wont to do; for they Lavish, Eat, Drink, and Play all away as long as the Goods hold out; and when these are gone, they e'en sell their Embroidery, their Lace, and their Cloaths. This done, they are forc'd to go upon a new Voyage for Subsistence.

The Directors of the Seminary of St. *Sulpitius*, take care to send Missionaries hither from time to time, who live under the direction of a Superiour, that is very much respected in the Country. They have Apartments allotted for 'em in a

stately, great, and pleasant House, built of Free-stone.<sup>1</sup> This House is built after the Model of that of St. *Sulpice* at *Paris*; and the Altar stands by it self, just like that at *Paris*. Their Seignories or Cantons that lye on the South-side of the Island, produce a considerable Revenue; for the Plantations are good, and the Inhabitants are rich in Corn, Cattle, Fowl, and a thousand other Commodities, for which they find a Mercat in the City: But the North part of the Island lies waste. These Directors would never suffer the Jesuits or Recollects to display their Banners here; though 'tis conjectur'd, that at the long run they'll be forc'd to consent to it. At the distance of a League from the Town, I saw at the foot of a Mountain, a Plantation of *Iroquesse* Christians, who are instructed by two Priests of the Order of *Sulpitius*,<sup>2</sup> and I'm inform'd of a larger

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<sup>1</sup> The Seminary of St. Sulpice, whose priests were known as Sulpitians, was founded at Vaugirard in 1640, by Jean Jacques Olier, a young Parisian priest, one of the Associates of Montreal. The next year the Seminary was established at Paris, and by 1657 the first Sulpitian arrived in Canada. At Montreal they were eagerly welcomed, became the curés of the parish, and later seigneurs of the island (see ante, p. 53, note 1). The first superior was Queylus, upon whose retirement (1671) François Casson de Dollier succeeded to the position. The latter came to Canada in 1666 after service in the armies of France. His first office was chaplain in an expedition against the Mohawks; later (1669), he accompanied La Salle on his first voyage of Western exploration. Returning to Montreal the following spring, he served as superior of the Sulpitians until his death (1671-1701). The earliest historian of Montreal, his manuscript was first published in 1871. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> The Sulpitians founded (1677) the Iroquois mission called from its location, La Montagne, where were an Indian village, a school for boys, and another for girls, all aided by a pension from the king. During Frontenac's War (1691) this village was raided and thirty-five prisoners taken. Some years later (1704), the mission was removed to Sault au Récollet, and sixteen years later became the nucleus of the Indian village of Oka on the Lake of Two Mountains, which still exists. See Canadian Indian Department Report, 1901, p. 49. — ED.

and more populous Plantation on t'other fide of the River, at the distance of two Leagues from hence, which is took care of by Father *Bruyas* the Jesuit.<sup>1</sup> I hope to fet out from hence, as soon as Mr. *de la Barre* receives advice from *France*; for he designs to leave *Quebec* upon the arrival of the first Ship. I resolve to go to Fort *Frontenac*, upon the Lake that [22] goes by the same name. If I may credit those who have been formerly in Action against the *Iroquese*, I shall be able upon my return from this Campaign, to inform you of some things that will seem as strange to you, as they will be disagreeable to my self. I am,

S I R,

*Yours, &c.*

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<sup>1</sup> The Jesuit mission was known as St. François du Sault, from its location on Sault St. Louis. It was established at La Prairie de la Madeleine in 1669, and in 1676 removed to this place, which is now known as Caughnawaga. Father Jacques Bruyas came to the Canadian mission in 1666, and labored during the rest of his life among the Iroquois. In 1679 he took charge of the mission at Sault St. Louis, where he lived until his death in 1712. He was superior of Canada missions 1693-98, and in 1700-01 was instrumental in adjusting peace with the Iroquois. A linguist of repute, he prepared the first grammar of the Mohawk language. — ED.

## LETTER V.

Dated at *Monreal* June 18. 1684.

*In which is contain'd a short account of the Iroquefe, with a view of the War and Peace they made with the French, and of the means by which it was brought about.*

SIR,

I WROTE to you but four days ago, and did not think to have heard from you so soon; but this Morning I met with a very agreeable Surprifal, in receiving a Packet addrefs'd to me by your Brother. You may be fure I was infinitely well pleas'd, in being given to underftand what has pafs'd in *Europe* fince I left it. The knowledge of the Affairs of *Europe* is comfortable to one that's doom'd to another World, fuch as this is, and I cannot but acknowledge my felf infinitely indebted to you, for the exactnefs of your Intelligence. In as much as you require of me an account of the *Iroquefe*, and would have me to prefent you with a juft view of their Temper and Government; I would willingly fatisfie and oblige you in that, or any other point: But in regard [23] that I am oblig'd to fet out for Fort *Frontenac* the day after to morrow, I have not time to inform my felf of things, or to confult thofe who have been in the Country before: So that all I can do at prefent, is only to acquaint you with what I have learn'd this Winter, from Perfons that have fojourn'd twenty years among



'em. As soon as I have an opportunity of enlarging my knowledge upon that Head, by a more immediate conversation with themselves, you may assure your self that I'll impart it to you. In the mean time, be pleas'd to accept of what follows.

These *Barbarians* are drawn up in five Cantons, not unlike those of the *Swiffes*. Tho' these Cantons are all of one Nation, and united in one joynt interest, yet they go by different names, viz. the *Tsonontouans*, the *Goyogoans*, the *Onnotagues*, the *Onoyouts*, and the *Agniès*. Their Language is almost the same; and the five Villages or Plantations in which they live, lie at the distance of thirty Leagues one from another, being all seated near the South side of the Lake of *Ontario*, or of *Frontenac*. Every year the five Cantons send Deputies to assist at the Union Feast, and to smook in the great *Calumet*, or Pipe of the five Nations. Each Village or Canton contains about fourteen thousand Souls, *i. e.* 1500 that bear Arms, 2000 Superannuated Men, 4000 Women, 2000 Maids, and 4000 Children: Tho' indeed some will tell you, that each Village has not above 10000 or 11000 Souls.<sup>1</sup> There has been an Alliance of long standing between these Nations and the *English*, and by trading in Furs to *New-York*, they are supply'd by the *English*

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<sup>1</sup> "Iroquois" was a title bestowed by the French; the tribesmen called themselves "People of the Long House"; to the English, they were known as the "Five Nations." Lahontan gives the five confederates of the league in the French form of their names; the English called them—proceeding in the same order, from west to east—Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk. Among the Onondaga was the principal council house, where each year the "union feast" was held, and the forthcoming policy deliberated. Lahontan has greatly exaggerated the numbers of these Indians; it is doubtful whether they ever mustered more than 2,500 warriors, implying a population of 10,000 to 12,000. See *Jesuit Relations*, index; Parkman, *Jesuits*, p. lxvi. — ED.

with Arms, Ammunition, and all other Neccessaries, at a cheaper rate than the *French* can afford 'em at. They have no other consideration for *England* or *France*, than what depends upon the occasion they have for the Commodities of these two Nations; though after all they [24] give an over-purchase; for they pay for them four times more than they are worth. They laugh at the Menaces of our Kings and Governors, for they have no notion of dependence, nay, the very word is to them insupportable. They look upon themselves as Sovereigns, accountable to none but God alone, whom they call *The Great Spirit*. They waged War with us almost always, from the first settlement of our Colonies in *Canada*, to the first years of the Count of *Frontenac's* Government. *Messieurs de Courcelles*, and *de Traci*, both of 'em Governors-General, made Head against the *Agniès* upon the *Champlain* Lake, in Winter as well as in Summer; but they could not boast of any great Success.<sup>1</sup> They only burnt their Villages, and carry'd off some hundred of their Children, of whom the above-mention'd *Iroquese* Christians are sprung. 'Tis true, they cut off ninety or an hundred Warriours; but in compensation for

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<sup>1</sup> The Iroquois had harassed New France almost from its inception. Alexandre de Prouville, marquis de Tracy, was chosen (1664) lieutenant-general of French colonies in America. An old army officer who had served with efficiency in the West Indies, his arrival (1665) was hailed with joy by the distressed colonists. Shortly after came Daniel de Rémy, sieur de Courcelle, the newly-appointed governor, and detachments of the Carignan regiment. Courcelle's first expedition against the Iroquois, in the winter of 1665-66, was without success. Whereupon Tracy took up the matter, and in the autumn of 1666 led an expedition via Lake Champlain, which burned the Mohawk towns and cowed these savages into an advantageous peace. The following year (1667) Tracy returned to France, to die there three years later. Courcelle remained as governor until 1672, when failing health caused his retirement, he being replaced by Count de Frontenac. — ED.

that, several *Canadans*, and several Soldiers of the Regiment of *Carignan*, being unprovided against the unfufferable cold of the Climate, lost their Limbs, and even their Life it self. Count *Frontenac* who succeeded Mr. *Courselle*,<sup>1</sup> perceiving that the *Barbarians* had the advantage of the *Europeans*, as to the waging of War in that Country; upon this apprehension, I say, he declin'd such fruitless Expeditions, which were very chargeable to the King, and us'd all his efforts to dispose the Savages to a sincere and lasting Peace. This judicious Governor had three things in view; The first was to encourage the greatest part of the *French* Inhabitants, who would have abdicated the Colony, and return'd to *France*, if the War had continued. His second Topick was, that the conclusion of a Peace would dispose an infinity of People to marry, and to grub up the Trees, upon which the Colony would be better Peopled and enlarg'd. The third Argument that dissuaded him from carrying [25] on the War, was a design of pursuing the discovery of the *Lakes*, and of the *Savages* that live upon their banks, in order to settle a Commerce with 'em, and at the same time to ingage them in our interests, by good Alliances, in case of a Rupture with the *Iroquese*. Upon the consideration of these Reasons, he sent some *Canadans* by way of a formal Embassy to the *Iroquese* Villages, in order to acquaint them,

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<sup>1</sup> Louis de Baude, count de Frontenac (born in 1620), had from his fifteenth year seen service in French armies, and was also an accomplished courtier. He was made lieutenant-general of New France in 1672, and while the most able of the governors, his imperious disposition and autocratic temper involved him in many disputes. The opposition became so great that he was recalled in 1682. Seven years later, the peril of the colony was such that Frontenac was again summoned to defend it. This he did vigorously, his expedition of 1696 crushing the Iroquois, and saving Canada to the French. He died at Quebec November 28, 1698. — ED.

that the King being inform'd that a groundless War was carried on against them, had sent him from *France* to make peace with 'em. At the same time the Ambassadors had orders to stipulate all the advantages they could obtain with reference to the Commerce. The *Iroquesse* heard this Proposal with a great deal of Satisfaction; for *Charles II.* King of *England*, had order'd his Governor in *New-York* to represent to 'em, that if they continu'd to wage War with the *French*, they were ruin'd, and that they would find themselves crush'd by the numerous Forces that were ready to sail from *France*. In effect, they promis'd to the Ambassadors that four hundred of their number should meet Count *Frontenac*, attended by an equal number of his Men, at the place where Fort *Frontenac* now stands. Accordingly, some Months after, both the one and the other met at the place appointed, and so a Peace was concluded. Mr. *de la Salle* was very serviceable to this Governor, in giving him good and seasonable Advices, which I cannot now enter upon, being oblig'd to make some preparations for my Voyage.<sup>1</sup> When the Campaign is over, you may expect to hear from me. In the mean time, I am,

S I R,

*Yours, &c.*

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<sup>1</sup> Lahontan here refers to Frontenac's expedition of 1673, which built Fort Frontenac, and made peace with the Iroquois. La Salle was one of the messengers sent to Onondaga to summon the chiefs to council. See Parkman, *La Salle* (Boston, 1892), chap. vi.

Thomas Dongan, governor of New York (1682-88), was an Irish gentleman who had served in both English and French armies in Europe, and had acted as lieutenant-governor of Tangiers. He attempted to thwart the plans of the French, to control the Iroquois and monopolize the trade with the interior, which conduct brought upon him reprimands from the English king, then subservient to the crown of France.—ED.

## LETTER VI.

Dated at *Monreal* June 20. 1684.

*Being an ample Description of the Canows made of Birch-bark, in which the Canadans perform all their Voyages; with an account of the manner in which they are made and manag'd.*

SIR,

I THOUGHT to have fet out as this day; but in regard that our Complement of great Canows is not yet brought up, our Voyage is put off for two days. Having so much leifure time upon my Hands, I have a mind to imploy it in presenting you with a fhort view of thefe slender Contrivances in which the *Canadans* perform all their Voyages: And this will furnish you with an *Idea* of the *Voiture* of this Country. I faw but now above an hundred Canows, fome great and fome little; but confidering that the former are only proper for Martial Expeditions, and long Voyages, I fhall confine my Description to that fort. Even the great ones are of different fizes; for they run from ten to twenty eight Foot long. Indeed the leaft of all hold but two Perfons fet upon their Breech, as in a Coffin; and are apt to over-fet, if the Paffengers move to one fide or t'other: But thofe of a larger fize will eafily afford ftowage for fourteen Perfons; tho' they are commonly mann'd only with three Men, when they are imploy'd

in transporting Provisions and Merchandize; and even then they'll carry twenty hundred weight. The largest fort are safe and [27] steddly, when they are made of the Bark of the Birch-tree, which comes off with hot Water in the Winter time. The greatest Trees afford the best Barks for Canows; but oftentimes the Bark of one Tree is not sufficient. The bottom of the Boat is all of one piece, to which the sides are so artfully sew'd by the Savages, that the whole Boat appears as one continu'd Bark. They are trimm'd and strengthn'd with wicker Wreaths, and ribs of Cedar-Wood, which are almost as light as Cork; the Wreaths are as thick as a Crown-piece; but the Bark has the thickness of two Crowns, and the Ribs are as thick as three. On the two sides of the Boat, there runs from one end to the other two principal Head-bars, in which the ends of the Ribs are inchas'd, and in which the Spars are made fast, that run a-crofs the Boat and keep it compact. These Boats have twenty Inches in depth, that is, from the upper edge to the Platform of the Ribs; their length extends to twenty eight Foot, and the width at the middle Rib is computed to be four Foot and a half. They are very convenient upon the account of their extream lightness, and the drawing of very little Water; but at the same time their brittle and tender Fabrick, is an Argument of an equivalent inconveniency; for if they do but touch or grate upon Stone or Sand, the cracks of the Bark fly open, upon which the Water gets in, and spoils the Provisions and Merchandize: Every day there is some new chink or seam to be gumm'd over. At Night they are always unloaded, and carried on

hoar where they are made fast with Pegs, left the Wind should blow 'em away: For they are so light, that two Men carry 'em upon their shoulders with ease. This conveniency of lightness and easie carriage, renders 'em very serviceable in the Rivers of *Canada*, which are full of Cataraets, Water-falls, and Currents: For in these Rivers we are oblig'd either to transport [28] 'em over-land where such obstructions happen, or else to tow 'em along where the Current is not over-rapid, and the shoar is accessible. These Boats are of no use for the Navigation of Lakes; for the Waves would swallow 'em up, if they could not reach the shoar when a wind arises.<sup>1</sup> 'Tis true, the Inhabitants venture in 'em for four or five Leagues, from one Island to another; but then 'tis always in calm Weather, and nothing is made use of but Oars; for besides the risque of being over-set, the Goods are in danger of being dammag'd by the Water, especially the Furs which are the most valuable part of the Cargoe. When the season serves, they carry little Sails; but if the Wind be but a little brisk, tho' they run right afore it, 'tis impossible to make any use of it without running the risque of Ship-wrack. If their course lies directly South, they cannot put up sail without the wind stands at one of the eight points, between North-West and North-East; and if a wind happens to spring any where else, (unless it comes from the Land which they coast along) they

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<sup>1</sup> For a brief description of the process of making a birch bark canoe, see McKenney, *Tour of the Lakes* (Baltimore, 1827), pp. 319, 320. Lahontan errs in saying that these craft were unfitted for the navigation of the lakes; he was later to learn of their usefulness on those waters. — ED.

are oblig'd to put in to the shoar with all possible expedition, and unload the Boat out of hand, till such time as a calm returns.

As for the working of these Boats, the Canow-Men ply sometimes on their Knees, namely, when they run down the small Water-falls; sometimes standing, when they stem a Current by setting the Boat along with Poles; and sometimes sitting, *viz.* in smooth and stagnating water. The Oars they make use of are made of Maple-wood, and their form is represented in the annex'd Cutt. The Blade of the Oar is twenty Inches long, six Inches broad, and four Lines thick: The Handle is about three Foot long, and as big as a Pigeons Egg. When they have occasion to run up against rapid Currents, they make use of Poles made of Pine-wood; and the setting of the Boat along with these, [29] is what they call *Piquer de fond*. The Canows have neither Stern nor Prow, for they run to a point at both ends: Neither have they Keels, Nails or Pegs, in the whole Structure. The Steersman, or he who Conns the Boat, rows without interruption as well as the rest. The common purchase of such a Boat is eighty Crowns; but it do's not last above five or six years.

This day I have received advice, that Mr. *de la Barre* has rais'd the Militia in the neighbourhood of *Quebec*, and that the Governor of this Island has receiv'd orders to have that of the adjacent *Cantons* in readiness to march. I am,

S I R,

Yours, &c.



## LETTER VII.

Dated at *Monreal* Novemb. 2. 1684.

*Describing the Course of the River of St. Laurence, from Monreal to the first great Lake of Canada; with the Water-falls, Cataracts, and Navigation of that River: As also Fort Frontenac, and the Advantages that accrue from it. Together with a Circumstantial account of the Expedition of Mr. de la Barre, the Governor-General, against the Iroquefe; the Speeches he made, the Replies he receiv'd, and the final Accommodation of the difference.*

S I R,

**T**HANK God I have finish'd this Campaign, and am now return'd in safety to this place. To present you with the History of our Campaign, be [30] pleas'd to know that in two or three days after the date of my last, I imbarqu'd on board of a Canow that was work'd by three expert Canow-Men. Every Canow contain'd two Soldiers; and we all row'd up against the Current of the River till we arriv'd at *Saut de St. Louis*, about three Leagues above this Town, which is a little Water-fall, but so rapid, that our Watermen were forc'd to stand in the water up to their Middle, in order to drag the Canows against the Stream for half a quarter of a League.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sault St. Louis was the name originally given to Lachine Rapids, just above Montreal, by Champlain (1611), apparently in memory of a lad named Louis who

We reimbarqu'd above this Pafs, and row'd about twelve Leagues up the River, and thro' the Lake of St. *Louis*, till we arriv'd at a place call'd the *Cascades*, where we were forc'd to turn out and carry our Boats and Baggage over-land, about half a quarter of a League. 'Tis true, we might have tow'd our Boats againſt the Stream in this place with ſome labour; but there was a Cataract a little above it, which they call *le Cataraëte du Trou*. I had taken up a notion that the only difficulty of failing up the River, conſiſted in the trouble of Land-carriage; but when I came to be a Spectator of the matter, I found that the ſtemming of the Currents whether in towing of the Canows, or in ſetting them along with Poles, was equally laborious. About five or fix Leagues higher we came to the Water-falls call'd *Sauts des Cedres*, and *du Buiffon*, where we were forc'd to tranſport our Boats five hundred paces over Land. Some Leagues above that, we enter'd the Lake of St. *Francis*, which is ſaid to be twenty Leagues in Circumference; and having croſs'd it, met with as ſtrong Currents as before, particularly at a fall call'd *Long Saut*, where we had recourſe to Land-carriage for half a League. Then

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was drowned at this place. The head of navigation upon the St. Lawrence, Cartier aſcended to this point on his ſecond voyage (1535), and explored the region in 1541. The name "Lachine" commemorates the deriſion excited among the enemies of La Salle; upon his embarkation thither for the Weſt (1669), they ſaid he was headed for China (La Chine), an alluſion to the then prevalent notion that in the Weſt might be found a tranſcontinental waterway which ſhould prove a ſhort-cut to China. The term "La Chine" was equivalent to our "China-town." The Lachine Rapids are the moſt dangerous on the St. Lawrence, and are now avoided by the Lachine canal, eight and a half miles long, on the northern ſide. In deſcending, however, ſpecially-constructed paſſenger ſteamers "ſhoot the rapids," a favorite amuſement among the people of Montreal. — ED.

we were forc'd to drag up the Boats against the rapid Stream; and after a great deal of fatigue came at last to a Pass call'd *la Galette*, from whence we had but twenty Leagues failing to Fort *Frontenac*.<sup>1</sup> This [31] Pass was the last difficulty we had to surmount; for above it the water was as still as that of a Pool, and then our Watermen ply'd with their Oars in stead of Poles.

The *Maringouins*, which we call *Midges*, are unfufferably troublesome in all the Countries of *Canada*. We were haunted with such clouds of 'em, that we thought to be eat up; and smoaking being the only Artifice that could keep 'em off, the Remedy was worse than the Disease: In the Night-time the People shelter themselves from 'em in Bowers or Arbours, made after the following manner. They drive into the Ground Stakes or little branches of Trees, at a certain distance one from another, so as to form a semicircular Figure; in which they put a Quilt and Bedcloaths, covering it above with a large Sheet that falls down to the Ground on all sides, and so hinders the Insects to enter.

We landed at Fort *Frontenac* after twenty days failing; and immediately upon our arrival, Mr. *Duta* our Commander in chief, view'd the Fortifications of the place, and three large Barques that lay at Anchor in the Port.<sup>2</sup> We repair'd the

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<sup>1</sup> Lahontan here describes in some detail the passage from Montreal to Lake Ontario. For a similar description in reverse order, with enumeration of the rapids, see Journal of Father Bonsecamps (1749), in *Jesuit Relations*, lxi, pp. 195, 197. The Long Sault of the St. Lawrence is now paralleled by the Cornwall canal. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Du Tas (Tartre) was in command of the advance guard sent to convey provisions to Fort Frontenac. See New York *Colonial Documents*, ix, p. 234. He

Fortifications in a very little time, and fitted up the three Barques. This Fort was a Square, consisting of large Curtains flanked with four little Bastions; these Flanks had but two Battlements, and the Walls were so low, that one might easily climb upon 'em without a Ladder. After Mr. *de la Salle* concluded the Peace with the *Iroquese*, the King bestow'd upon him and his Heirs the property of this place; but he was so negligent, that instead of enriching himself by the Commerce it might have afforded, he was considerably out of pocket upon it.<sup>1</sup> To my mind this Fort is situated very advantageously for a Trade with the five *Iroquese* Nations: For their Villages lye in the Neighbourhood of the *Lake*, upon which they may transport their Furs in Canows with more [32] ease, than they can carry 'em over-land to New-York. In time of War I take it to be indefensible; for the Cataracts and Currents of the River are such, that fifty *Iroquese* may there stop

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stopped but a brief time in the colony, but again brought reinforcements in 1690, when Frontenac sent him to guard the St. Lawrence. He served in the English Channel in 1692; went to Hudson Bay (1695), and the following year was in the campaign in Acadia.—ED.

<sup>1</sup> Courcelle had recommended the site of Fort Frontenac (Catarakouy) on his expedition of 1671. His successor, acting upon the suggestion, advanced up the St. Lawrence in 1673, and built the stockade on the present site of Kingston, Ontario. Two years later, La Salle, strongly endorsed by Frontenac, obtained from the court at Versailles a grant of the fort and district as a seigniory. Had La Salle been a mere merchant, he would, as Lahontan suggests, have made his fortune therefrom. Using it merely as the base of Western exploration, he became involved in financial difficulties, and upon the departure of his patron Frontenac it was seized by his enemies, headed by La Barre (1683). Upon the order of the king, it was restored the following year to La Salle's lieutenant. At the outbreak of Frontenac's War (1689), Denonville gave orders for the destruction of this fort; but Frontenac restored it in 1695, and the French maintained it until its capture by the British in 1758.—ED.

five hundred *French*, without any other Arms but Stones. Do but consider, Sir, that for twenty Leagues together the River is so rapid, that we dare not set the Canow four paces off the shoar; Besides, *Canada* being nothing but a Forrest, as I intimated above, 'tis impossible to travel there without falling every foot into Ambuscades, especially upon the banks of this River, which are lin'd with thick Woods, that render 'em inaccessible. None but the Savages can skip from Rock to Rock, and scour thro' the Thickets, as if 'twere an open Field. If we were capable of such Adventures, we might march five or six hundred Men by Land to guard the Canows that carry the Provisions; but at the same time 'tis to be consider'd, that before they arriv'd at the Fort, they would consume more Provisions than the Canows can carry; Not to mention that the *Iroquese* would still out-number 'em. As to the particulars relating to the Fort, I shall take notice of 'em when I come to give a general description of *New-France*.

While we continued at Fort *Frontenac*, the *Iroquese* who live at *Ganeouffe* and *Quentè*, at the distance of seven or eight Leagues from thence,<sup>1</sup> threw in upon us Harts, Roe-bucks, Turkeys and Fish; in exchange for Needles, Knives, Powder

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<sup>1</sup>In 1668 several Cayugas, asking for a missionary, came to Montreal from a new settlement recently made on Quinté Bay, on the north shore of Lake Ontario. The Sulpitians sent out two of their members, who maintained the mission until 1673, when Frontenac granted the Recollects the chaplaincy of his new fort. Hennepin was stationed here, and administered to the mission for several years. See Hennepin, *New Discovery* (Thwaites's ed., Chicago, 1903), pp. 47, 97. The mission was abandoned during the Iroquois disturbances just preceding the outbreak of Frontenac's War (or about 1687).—Ed.

and Ball. Towards the end of *Auguft* Mr. *de la Barre* joyn'd us; but he was dangerously ill of a Feaver, which rag'd in like manner among most of his Militia; so that only our three Companies were free from Sicknefs. This Feaver was of the intermitting kind; and the convulsive Motions, Tremblings, and frequency of the Pulse that attended the cold Fit, were so violent, that most of our sick Men dy'd in the second or third Fit. Their Blood was [33] of a blackish brown colour, and tainted with a sort of yellowish Serum, not unlike *Pus* or corrupt Matter. Mr. *de la Barre's* Physician, who in my opinion knew as little of the true causes of Feavers as *Hippocrates* or *Galen*, and a hundred thousand besides; this mighty Physician, I say, pretending to trace the cause of the Feaver I now speak of, imputed it to the unfavourable qualities of the Air and the Aliment. His plea was, that the excessive heat of the season, put the Vapours or Exhalations into an over-rapid Motion; that the Air was so over-rarify'd, that we did not suck in a sufficient quantity of it; that the small quantity we did receive was loaded with Insects and impure Corpusculum's, which the fatal necessity of Respiration oblig'd us to swallow; and that by this means nature was put into disorder: He added, that the use of Brandy and salt Meat sower'd the Blood, that this sowernefs occasion'd a sort of Coagulation of the Chyle and Blood, that the Coagulation hindered it to circulate thro' the Heart with a due degree of Celerity; and that thereupon there insued an extraordinary Fermentation, which is nothing else but a Feaver. But after all, to my mind this Gentleman's

Syſteme was too much upon the *Iroqueſe* ſtrain; for at that rate the Diſtemper muſt have ſeiz'd all without diſtinction, whereas neither our Soldiers nor the ſeaſon'd *Canadians* were troubled with it; for it rag'd only among the Militia, who being unacquainted with the way of ſetting the Boats with Poles, were forc'd at every turn to get into the water and drag 'em up againſt the rapid Stream: Now, the waters of that Country being naturally cold, and the heat being exceſſive, the Blood might thereupon freeze by way of *Antiperiſtaſis*, and ſo occaſion the Feaver I ſpeak of, purſuant to the common Maxim, *Omnis repentina mutatio eſt periculofa*, i. e. *All ſudden changes are of dangerous Conſequence*.

[34] As ſoon as Mr. *de la Barre* recover'd, he imbarqu'd in order to continue his march; tho' he might have eaſily known, that after halting fourteen or fifteen days at that Fort, when the ſeaſon was ſo far advanc'd, he could not pretend to compaſs the end of his Expedition. We row'd Night and Day the Weather being very calm, and in five or ſix days came before the River of *Famine*, where we were forc'd to put in upon the apprehenſion of a Storm.<sup>1</sup> Here we met with a Canow that Mr. *Dulbut* had ſent from *Miſſilimakinac*, with advice, that purſuant to orders he had ingag'd the *Hurons*,

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<sup>1</sup> Rivière la Famine was previously identified with Onondaga (Oswego) River, but later investigations have proven that it was Salmon River, Oswego County, N. Y. See N. Y. *Colonial Documents*, ix, p. 242. The region was not named for lack of ſupplies in La Barre's army, but from ſome previous Indian famine. La Barre encamped on the northweſt ſide of the river, oppoſite the preſent Port Ontario. See Hawley, *Early Chapters of Cayuga History* (Auburn, 1879).—ED.

*Outaoua's*, and some other People, to joyn his Army; in which he had above two hundred brave \*Forest Rangers. These News were very acceptable to Mr. *de la Barre*; but at the same time he was very much perplexed; for I'm perswaded he repented oftner than once, of his entring upon an Expedition that he foresaw would prove Successless; and to aggravate the danger of his Enterprize, the *Iroquese* had at that time an opportunity to fall upon us. In fine, after a mature consideration of the Consequences, and of the Difficulties that stood in the way, he sent back the Canow to Mr. *Dulbut*, with orders to dismiss the Forest Rangers and Savages immediately, where ever he was, and by all means to avoid the approaching to his Troops. By good luck Mr. *Dulbut* had not yet reach'd *Niagara*, when he receiv'd these Orders; with which the Savages that accompany'd him were so dissatisfied, that they threw out all manner of Invectives against the *French Nation*.<sup>1</sup>

As soon as Mr. *de la Barre* had dispatch'd this Canow, he

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<sup>1</sup> Daniel Greysolon DuLuth (duLhut), "king of coureurs des bois," had been an officer in the French army. Coming to Canada before 1674, he set out four years later on an expedition to the Sioux country, and remained in the Northwest for over twelve years, exploring, trading, and securing the Indians in the French interest. He was so powerful that his services were sought by successive governors. He brought an Indian force to the aid of Denonville in 1687; and in 1694 was fighting the Iroquois under Frontenac. Two years later he was commandant at Fort Frontenac, and died in 1710. See McLennan "Gentlemen of the King's Guard," in *Harper's Magazine*, Sept., 1893; and "Death of DuLuth" in *Roy. Soc. Proc.*, 2d series, ix, pp. 39-47. The Huron and Ottawa who composed his party upon the occasion here cited by Lahontan, were from those tribes that had fled from the Iroquois attacks and settled under French protection at Fort Mackinac.—Ed.



sent Mr. *le Moine* to the Village of the *Onnontagues*, which lay about eighteen Leagues up the River. This Mr. *le Moine* was a Gentleman of *Normandy*, and highly esteem'd by the *Iroquefe*, who [35] call'd him *Akoueffan*, i. e. *the Partridge*.<sup>1</sup> His Orders were, to endeavour by all means to bring along with him some of the old standers of that Nation; and accordingly he return'd in a few days, accompany'd with one of their most considerable Grandees, who had a Train of thirty young Warriors, and was distinguish'd by the Title of the *Grangula*.<sup>2</sup> As soon as he debarqued, Mr. *de la Barre* sent him a Present of Bread and Wine, and of thirty Salmon-Trouts, which they fish'd in that place in such plenty, that they brought up a hundred at one cast of a Net: At the same time he gave the Grandee to understand, that he congratulated his Arrival, and would be glad to have an Interview with him after he had rested himself for some days. You must know that he had us'd the precaution of sending the sick back to the Colony,

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Le Moyne, sieur de Longueuil, was a native of Dieppe, born in 1624. He came to Canada in 1641, and after four years among the Huron with the Jesuits, settled at Montreal. There he acted for many years as interpreter of the colony, and captain of militia. In 1655 he was captured by the Iroquois, who were so impressed by his intrepidity that they adopted him into their tribe, and sent him home unharmed. The value of his services to the colony was so great that he was ennobled by the king (1668). His sons distinguished themselves in the history of the colony; the eldest, first baron of Longueuil, was governor of Canada; Iberville and Bienville were the founders of Louisiana.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> By this Latinized form Lahontan designates the Iroquois chieftain known by the French as La Grande Gueule (Big Mouth), in allusion to his oratorical ability. His Indian name was Otréouaté, and he belonged to the Onondaga tribe. Although not one of their great chiefs, he was a wily diplomatist, and owed his influence to skill in oratory and powers of dissimulation. For his signature in the totems of his clan, see *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, p. 386.—ED.

that the *Iroquefe* might not perceive the weaknefs of his Forces; and to favour the Stratagem, Mr. *le Moine* represented to the *Grangula*, that the Body of the Army was left behind at Fort *Frontenac*, and that the Troops he faw in our Camp, were the General's Guards. But unhappily one of the *Iroquefe* that had a fmattering of the *French* Tongue, having ftrol'd in the Night-time towards our Tents, over-heard what we faid, and fo reveal'd the Secret. Two days after their arrival, the *Grangula* gave notice to Mr. *de la Barre* that he was ready for an Interview; and accordingly an hour being appointed, the whole Company appear'd as the figure represents it.

The *Grangula* fat on the Eaft fide, being plac'd at the head of his Men, with his Pipe in his Mouth, and the great *Calumet* of Peace before him. He was very attentive to the following Harangue, pronounc'd by our Interpreters; which you cannot well underftand, without a previous explication of the *Calumet*, and the *Coliers* that it mentions.

[36] The *Calumet of Peace* is made of certain Stones, or of Marble, whether red, black, or white. The Pipe or Stalk is four or five foot long; the body of the *Calumet* is eight Inches long, and the Mouth or Head in which the Tobacco is lodg'd, is three Inches in length; its figure approaches to that of a Hammer. The red *Calumets* are moft esteem'd. The Savages make ufe of 'em for Negotiations and State Affairs, and efpecially in Voyages; for when they have a *Calumet* in their hand, they go where they will in fafety. The *Calumet* is trimm'd with yellow, white, and green Feathers,

and has the same effect among the Savages, that the Flag of friendship has amongst us; for to violate the Rights of this venerable Pipe, is among them a flaming Crime, that will draw down mischief upon their Nations.<sup>1</sup> As for the *Coliers*, they are certain swathes of two or three Foot in length, and six Inches in breadth; being deck'd with little Beads made of a certain sort of shells that they find upon the Sea shoar, between New-York and Virginia. These Beads are round, and as thick as a little Pea; but they are twice as long as a grain of Corn: Their colour is either blew or white; and they are bor'd thro' just like Pearl, being run after the same manner upon strings that lye sideways one to another. Without the intervention of these *Coliers*, there's no business to be negotiated with the Savages; for being altogether unacquainted with writing, they make use of them for Contracts and Obligations. Sometimes they keep for an Age the *Coliers* that they have receiv'd from their Neighbours; and in regard that every *Colier* has its peculiar Mark, they learn from the old Persons, the Circumstances of the time and place in which they were deliver'd; but after that age is over, they are made use of for new Treaties.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On the uses of the calumet, see *Jesuit Relations*, index. The red stone is known as "catlinite," from the artist George Catlin, who was the first to explore and describe the quarries at Pipestone, Minnesota. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> These "collars" (so called by the French; the English entitled them "belts") were made of wampum, of which Lahontan has here described the primitive type in the form of shells. Later they were made of beads. See *Jesuit Relations*, viii, note 70; also Hale, "Indian Wampum Records" in *Popular Science Monthly*, February, 1897. Belts of wampum were always used in the negotiation of Indian treaties; they were sent with envoys as credentials, preserved by a chief as the ensign of his authority, employed in ransom and atonement for crime, and also as ornament and in place of money. The English term was "wampum"; that of the French, "porcelain." — ED.

[37] *Mr. de la Barre's Harangue, was to this purpose.*

'The King, my Master, being inform'd that the five  
'*Iroquefe* Nations have for a long time made infractions  
'upon the measures of Peace, order'd me to come hither with  
'a Guard, and to send *Akoueffan* to the Canton of the *Onno-*  
'*tagues*, in order to an Interview with their principal Leaders,  
'in the Neighbourhood of my Camp. This great Monarch  
'means, that you and I should smoak together in the great  
'*Calumet* of Peace, with the proviso, that you ingage in the  
'name of the *Tsonnontouans*, *Goyogouans*, *Onnotagues*, *Onnoyoutes*,  
'and *Agnies*, to make reparation to his Subjects, and to be  
'guilty of nothing for the future, that may occasion a fatal  
'rupture.

'The *Tsonnontouans*, *Goyogouans*, *Onnotagues*, *Onnoyoutes* and  
'*Agnies*, have strip'd, rob'd, and abus'd all the Forest-Rangers,  
'that travel'd in the way of Trade to the Country of the  
'*Illinese*, of the *Oumamis*, and of several other Nations, who  
'are my Master's Children.<sup>1</sup> Now this usage being in high  
'violation of the Treaties of Peace concluded with my Prede-  
'cessor, I am commanded to demand Reparation, and at the

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<sup>1</sup> According to Parkman, La Barre had brought this about by giving leave to the Iroquois to plunder La Salle's canoes. The Indians had taken advantage of this permission to seize several canoes and employés of the governor himself. See Parkman, *Frontenac*, pp. 86, 87.

The Illinois Indians, of Algonquian stock, were encountered by the French in the state to which they have given their name. La Salle had founded his colony among them, only to have it raided by the Iroquois. See Hennepin, *New Discovery* (Thwaites's ed.), pp. 337-342. The Miami (Oumamis) were first encountered by white men in Wisconsin. On their migrations see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 41, 99, 127, 285, 361, 398.—ED.

‘fame time to declare, that in case of their refusal to comply  
 ‘with my demands, or of relapsing into the like Robberies,  
 ‘War is positively proclaim’d.

*This Colier makes my words good.*

‘The Warriours of these five Nations have introduc’d the  
 ‘*English* to the *Lakes*, belonging to the King my Master, and  
 ‘into the Country of those Nations to whom my Master is a  
 ‘Father: This they have done with a design to ruine the  
 ‘Commerce of his Subjects, and to oblige these Nations to  
 ‘depart from their due Allegiance; notwithstanding the Re-  
 ‘monstrances of the late Governor [38] of *New-York*, who saw  
 ‘thro the danger that both they and the *English* expos’d them-  
 ‘selves to. At present I am willing to forget those Actions;  
 ‘but if ever you be guilty of the like for the future, I have  
 ‘express orders to declare War.

*This Colier warrants my Words.*

‘The same Warriours have made several barbarous Incur-  
 ‘sions upon the Country of the *Illinese*, and the *Oumamis*.  
 ‘They have massacred Men, Women, and Children; they  
 ‘have took, bound, and carried off an infinite number of the  
 ‘Natives of those Countries, who thought themselves secure  
 ‘in their Villages in a time of Peace. These People are my  
 ‘Master’s Children, and therefore must hereafter cease to be  
 ‘your Slaves. I charge you to restore ’em to their Liberty,  
 ‘and to send ’em home without delay; for if the five Nations

‘refuse to comply with this demand, I have exprefs orders to  
‘declare War.

*This Colier makes my words good.*

‘This is all I had to fay to the *Grangula*, whom I defire to  
‘report to the five Nations, this Declaration, that my Mafter  
‘commanded me to make. He wifhes they had not oblig’d  
‘him to fend a potent Army to the Fort of \* *Cat- \*The French*  
‘*aracouy*, in order to carry on a War that will *call it Fort*  
‘prove fatal to them: And he will be very much *Frontenac.*  
‘troubled, if it fo falls out, that this Fort which is a work of  
‘Peace, muft be imploy’d for a Prifon to your Militia. Thefe  
‘mifchiefs ought to be prevented by mutual endeavours: The  
‘*French* who are the Brethren and Friends of the five Nations,  
‘will never difturb their Repofe; provided they make the fatis-  
‘faction I now demand, and prove religious obfervers of their  
‘Treaties. I wifh my words [39] may produce the defir’d  
‘effect; for if they do not, I am oblig’d to joyn the Governor  
‘of *New-York*, who has orders from the King his Mafter, to  
‘affift me to burn the five Villages, and cut you off.

*This Colier confirms my word.*

‘While Mr. *de la Barre*’s Interpreter pronounc’d this  
Harangue, the *Grangula* did nothing but look’d upon the end  
of his Pipe: After the Speech was finifh’d he rofe, and having  
took five or fix turns in the Ring that the *French* and the  
Savages made, he return’d to his place, and ftanding upright

spoke after the following manner to the General, who sat in his Chair of State.

\* *This Title they give to the Governor-General of Canada.* ' \* *Onnontio*, I honour you, and all the Warriors that accompany me do the same: ' Your Interpreter has made an end of his Discourse, and now I come to begin mine.

' My Voice glides to your Ear, pray listen to my words.

' *Onnontio*, in setting out from *Quebec*, you must needs have ' fancy'd that the scorching Beams of the Sun had burnt down ' the Forests which render our Country unaccessable to the ' *French*; or else that the Inundations of the Lake had surrounded our Cottages, and confin'd us as Prisoners. This ' certainly was your thought; and it could be nothing else but ' the curiosity of seeing a burnt or drown'd Country, that ' mov'd you to undertake a Journey hither. But now you ' have an opportunity of being undeceiv'd, for I and my warlike Retinue come to assure you, that the *Tsonontouans*, *Goyogouans*, *Onnontagues*, *Onnoyoutes* and *Agnies*, are not yet destroy'd. ' I return you thanks in their name, for bringing into their ' Country the *Calumet* of Peace, that your Predecessor receiv'd ' from their hands. At the same time I congratulate your [40]

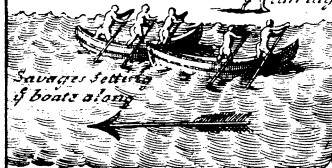
' Happiness, in having left under Ground  
\* *Burying the Axe signifies Peace.* ' \* the bloody Axe, that has been so often ' dy'd with the blood of the *French*. I must

' tell you, *Onnontio*, I am not asleep, my Eyes are open; and ' the Sun that vouchsafes the light, gives me a clear view of a ' great Captain at the head of a Troop of Soldiers, who speaks ' as if he were asleep. He pretends that he do's not approach

*An Iroquois Canow made of Elm*



*The land carriage*



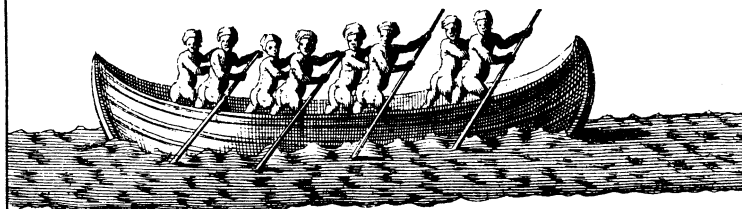
*Savages setting a line of boats along*



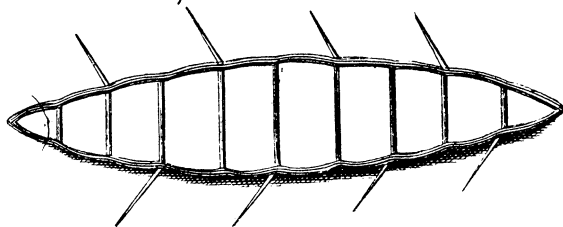
*Savages setting a line of boats along*

*A Cataract*

*Savages rowing in a great Canow and standing upright*



*A canow of birch bark with 8 Seats.*



*An Oar*







‘to this Lake with any other view, than to smother with the  
 ‘*Onnotagues* in the great *Calumet*; but the *Grangula* knows  
 ‘better things, he sees plainly that the *Onnontio* mean’d to  
 ‘knock ’em on the Head, if the *French* Arms had not been so  
 ‘much weaken’d.

‘I perceive that the *Onnontio* raves in a Camp of sick  
 ‘People, whose lives the great Spirit has sav’d by visiting  
 ‘them with Infirmities. Do you hear, *Onnontio*, our Women  
 ‘had took up their Clubbs; and the Children and the old  
 ‘Men, had visited your Camp with their Bows and Arrows,  
 ‘if our Warlike Men had not stop’d and disarm’d ’em, when  
 ‘*Akoueffan* your Ambassadour appear’d before my Village.  
 ‘But I have done, I’ll talk no more of that.

‘You must know, *Onnontio*, we have robb’d no *French-Men*,  
 ‘but those who supply’d the *Illinese* and the *Oumamis* (our  
 ‘Enemies) with Fuses, with Powder, and with Ball: These  
 ‘indeed we took care of, because such Arms might have cost  
 ‘us our life. Our Conduct in that point is of a piece with  
 ‘that of the Jesuits, who stave all the barrels of Brandy that  
 ‘are brought to our Cantons, lest the People getting drunk  
 ‘should knock them in the Head. Our Warriours have no  
 ‘Beavers to give in exchange for all the Arms they take from  
 ‘the *French*; and as for the old superannuated People, they  
 ‘do not think of bearing Arms.

[41] *This Colier comprehends my word.*

‘We have conducted the *English* to our \**They pretend*  
 ‘\**Lakes*, in order to traffick with the *Outaouas*, *to the property*  
 ‘and the *Hurons*; just as the *Algonkins* con- *of the Lakes.*

‘ ducted the *French* to our five Cantons, in order to carry on a  
 ‘ Commerce that the *English* lay claim to as their Right. We  
 ‘ are born Freemen, and have no dependance either upon the  
 † Corlar is the ‘ *Onnontio* or the † *Corlar*.<sup>1</sup> We have a power to  
 Title of the ‘ go where we please, to conduct who we will  
 Governor of ‘ to the places we resort to, and to buy and sell  
 New-York. ‘ where we think fit. If your Allies are your  
 ‘ Slaves or Children, you may e’en treat ’em as such, and rob  
 ‘ ’em of the liberty of entertaining any other Nation but your  
 ‘ own.

*This Colier contains my word.*

‘ We fell upon the *Illinese* and the *Oumamis*, because they  
 ‘ cut down the trees of Peace that serv’d for limits or bound-  
 ‘ aries to our Frontiers. They came to hunt Beavers upon  
 ‘ our Lands; and contrary to the custom of all the Savages,  
 ‘ have carried off whole Stocks, || both Male and  
 || Among the ‘ Female. They have ingag’d the *Chaouanons*  
 Savages, ’tis a ‘ in their interest, and entertain’d ’em in their  
 capital Crime ‘ Country.<sup>2</sup> They supply’d ’em with Fire-Arms,  
 to destroy all ‘ after the concerting of ill designs against us.  
 the Beavers of ‘ We have done less than the *English* and the  
 a Settlement.

<sup>1</sup> The significance of the word Onontio, by which the Iroquois designated the governor of Canada, was said to be “great” or “beautiful mountain,” and to have been a translation of the name of the second governor, Montmagny. Corlaer, the Indian name for the governor of New York, was derived from Van Curler, an early Dutch trader who had much influence among the Mohawk.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> The Shawnee (French Chaouanon) were an Algonquian tribe, concerning whose migrations and relations there has been considerable controversy. La Salle found them in the Ohio country, where in the eighteenth century they were a terror to the Western settlers of the United States. See *Jesuit Relations*, xlvii, p. 316; lxi, p. 249; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 48, 364; xvii, index.—ED.

‘ *French*, who without any right, have usurp’d the Grounds  
 ‘ they are now possess’d of; and of which they have dislodg’d  
 ‘ several Nations, in order to make way for their building of  
 ‘ Cities, Villages, and Forts.

[42] *This Colier contains my word.*

‘ I give you to know, *Onnontio*, that my Voice is the Voice  
 ‘ of the five *Iroquesse* Cantons. This is their Answer, pray  
 ‘ incline your Ear, and listen to what they represent.

‘ The *Tsonontouans*, *Goyogouans*, *Onnontagues*, *Onnoyoutes*, and  
 ‘ *Agnies* declare, that they interr’d \* the  
 ‘ Axe at *Cataracouy*, in the presence of your  
 ‘ Predecessor, in the very center of the Fort;  
 ‘ and planted the Tree of Peace in the same  
 ‘ place, that it might be carefully preserv’d;  
 ‘ that ’twas then stipulated, that the Fort should be us’d as a  
 ‘ place of retreat for Merchants, and not a refuge for Soldiers;  
 ‘ and that instead of Arms and Ammunition, it should be made  
 ‘ a Receptacle of only Beaver-Skins, and Merchandize Goods.  
 ‘ Be it known to you, *Onnontio*, that for the future you ought  
 ‘ to take care, that so great a number of Martial-Men as I now  
 ‘ see, being shut up in so small a Fort, do not stifle and choak  
 ‘ the Tree of Peace. Since it took Root so easily, it must  
 ‘ needs be of pernicious consequence to stop its growth, and  
 ‘ hinder it to shade both your Country and ours with its  
 ‘ Leaves. I do assure you, in the name of the five Nations,  
 ‘ that our Warriors shall dance the *Calumet* Dance under its

\* *Interring the Axe,*  
*signifies the making of*  
*a Peace; and the dig-*  
*ging of it up imports a*  
*Declaration of War.*

† *This Phrase signifies keeping the Peace.* ‘ branches; that they shall rest in Tran-  
 ‘ quility upon their † Matts, and will never  
 ‘ dig up the Axe to cut down the Tree of  
 ‘ Peace; till such time as the *Onnontio* and the *Corlar*, do either  
 ‘ joyntly or separately offer to invade the Country, that the  
 ‘ great Spirit has dispos’d of in the favour of our Ancestors.

[43] *This Colier contains my word; and the other comprehends  
 the power granted to me by the five Nations.*

Then the *Grangula* address’d himself to Mr. *le Moine*, and spoke to this purpose.

‘ *Akoueffan*, take Heart, you are a Man of Sense; speak and  
 ‘ explain my meaning; be sure you forget nothing, but declare  
 ‘ all that thy Brethren and thy Friends represent to thy chief  
 ‘ *Onnontio*, by the voice of the *Grangula*, who pays you all  
 ‘ Honour and Respect, and invites you to accept of this Pre-  
 ‘ sent of Beavers, and to assist at his Feast immediately.

‘ This other Present of Beavers is sent by the five Nations  
 ‘ to the *Onnontio*.

As soon as the *Grangula* had done, Mr. *le Moine* and the Jesuits that were present, explain’d his answer to Mr. *de la Barre*,<sup>1</sup> who thereupon retir’d to his Tent and storm’d and bluster’d, till some body came and represented to him, that, *Iroca Progenies nescit habere modos*, i. e. *The Iroquese are always upon extreams.* The *Grangula* danc’d after the *Iroquese* manner,

<sup>1</sup> Father Jacques Bruyas was interpreter upon this occasion. See *ante*, p. 56, note 1.—ED.

by way of prelude to his Entertainment; after which he regal'd several of the *French*. Two days after he and his Martial-Retinue return'd to their own Country, and our Army set out for *Monreal*. As soon as the General was on board, together with the few healthy Men that remain'd, the Canows were dispers'd, for the Militia straggled here and there, and every one made the best of his way home. Our three Companies indeed kept together, because all of us, both Officers and Soldiers, were carried in flat-bottom'd Boats, made of Deal on purpose for our use. However, I could have wish'd to have run down the falls and Cataracts [44] in the same Canow that brought me up, for every body thought we should have been cast away at these Passes, which are full of Eddy's and Rocks; and 'twas never heard before, that such Precipices were pass'd with Deal Boats either upwards or downwards. But we were forc'd to run all hazards, and had certainly been swallow'd up in those Mountains of Water, if we had not oblig'd several Canows to shoot the Cataracts at the head of our Boats, in order to shew us the way; at the same time we had prepar'd our Soldiers for rowing, and shieving upon occasion. Do but consider, Sir, that the Currents run as fast as a Cannon Ball; and that one false stroke of the Oar, would have run us unavoidably upon the Rocks; for we are oblig'd to steer a Zig-zag course pursuant to the thread of the Stream, which has fifty windings. The Boats which are loaded are sometimes lost in those places. But after all, tho' the risque we run be very great, yet by way of Com-

penfation, one has the fatisfaction of running a great way in a little time; for we run from *Galete* to this Town in two days time, notwithstanding that we crofs'd the two ftagnating Lakes I took notice of before.

As foon as we landed, we receiv'd advice that the *Chevalier de Callieres* was come to fupply the room of Mr. *Perrot*, the Governor of this place.<sup>1</sup> Mr. *Perrot* has had feveral fcuffles with Mr. *de Frontenac*, and Mr. *de la Barre*; of which you may expect a farther account, when I am better inform'd. All the World blames our General for his bad Succels: 'Tis talk'd publickly, that his only defign was to cover the fending of feveral Canows to traffick with the Savages in thofe Lakes for Beaver-Skins. The People here are very bufie in wafting over to Court a thoufand Calumnies againft him; both the Clergy and the Gentlemen of the long Robe, write to his difadvantage. Tho' after all, the whole charge is [45] falfe; for the poor Man could do no more than he did.<sup>2</sup> Juft now, I was inform'd that Mr. *Hainaut*, Mr. *Montortier*, and Mr. *Durivau*, three Captains of Ships, are arriv'd at *Quebec*, with a defign to pafs the Winter there, and to affift him as Counfellors; and that the

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<sup>1</sup> Louis Hector, sieur de Callières-Bonnevue was born in 1646 or 1647, and early adopted the profession of arms. Coming to Canada in 1684 as governor of Montreal, he soon proved himself an important factor in the defense of the colony. He ably seconded the measures of Frontenac, and upon his death (1698) was appointed his successor. He brought Frontenac's war with the Iroquois to a successful issue, and made a peace (1701) with this redoubtable foe. His death occurred in 1703.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> For La Barre's own account of the expedition, see N. Y. *Colon. Docs.*, ix, pp. 239-243. The account of his detractors, headed by the intendant Meules, follows, pp. 244-248.—ED.

last of these three has brought with him an Independent Company, to be commanded by himself.<sup>1</sup>

I shall have no opportunity of writing again before the next Spring; for the last Ships that are to return for *France* this year, are now ready to sail.

*I am, S I R, Yours, &c.*

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<sup>1</sup> These officers, whose names are given, Desnots, Montortié, and Du Rivau Huet, came out in charge of reinforcements in the autumn of 1684, but were permitted to return the following year. See *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, p. 250; *Canadian Archives*, supplement, 1899, pp. 269, 270.—ED.



## LETTER VIII.

Dated at *Monreal*, June 28. 1685.

*Representing the Fortifications of Monreal, and the indiscreet Zeal of the Priests, who are Lords of that Town: With a Description of Chambli, and of the Commerce of the Savages upon the great Lakes.*

SIR,

I HAVE just receiv'd yours, by a small Vessel of *Bourdeaux* loaded with Wine; which is the first that came to *Quebec* this Year. I am mightily pleas'd to hear that the King has granted to *Mr. de la Salle* four Ships, to go upon the Discovery of the Mouth of the *Mississipi*; and cannot but admire your Curiosity, in desiring to know the Occurrences of this Place, and how I spent my time in the Winter.

*Mr. de Callieres* was no sooner possess'd of his Government, than he order'd all the Inhabitants of this Town, and of the adjacent Country, to cut down and bring in great Stakes, of fifteen Foot in length, [46] to fortifie the Town. During the Winter, these Orders were pursued with so much Application, that all things are now ready for making the Inclosure; in which five or six hundred Men are to be employ'd. I spent part of the Winter in Hunting with the *Algonkins*, in order to a more perfect knowledge of their Language; and the rest I

spent in this Place, with a great deal of uneasiness: for, here we cannot enjoy our selves, either at Play, or in visiting the Ladies, but 'tis presently carried to the Curate's ears, who takes publick notice of it in the Pulpit. His Zeal goes so far, as even to name the Persons: and since he refuses the Sacrament of the Holy Supper to Ladies of Quality, upon the most slender Pretences, you may easily guess at the other steps of his Indiscretion. You cannot imagine to what a pitch these Ecclesiastical Lords have screw'd their Authority: They excommunicate all the Masks, and wherever they spy 'em, they run after 'em to uncover their Faces, and abuse 'em in a reproachful manner: In fine, they have a more watchful eye over the Conduct of the Girls and married Women, than their Fathers and Husbands have. They cry out against those that do not receive the Sacrament once a Month; and at *Easter* they oblige all sorts of Persons to give in Bills to their Confessors. They prohibit and burn all the Books that treat of any other Subject but Devotion. When I think of this Tyranny, I cannot but be inrag'd at the impertinent Zeal of the Curate of this City. This inhumane Fellow came one day to my Lodging, and finding the Romance of the Adventures of *Petronius* upon my Table, he fell upon it with an unimaginable fury, and tore out almost all the Leaves. This Book I valued more than my Life, because 'twas not castrated; and indeed I was so provok'd when I saw it all in wrack, that if my Landlord had not held me, I had gone immediately to that turbulent Pastor's [47] House, and would have pluck'd out the Hairs of his Beard with as little mercy as he did the

Leaves of my Book. These Animals cannot content themselves with the studying of Mens Actions, but they must likewise dive into their Thoughts. By this Sketch, Sir, you may judge what a pleasant Life we lead here.

The 30th of the last *March* the Ice melted; and the River being then open, I was sent with a small Detachment to *Chambli*: for commonly the Sun resumes its Vigour here much about that time. *Chambli* stands on the brink of a Basin, about five or six Leagues off this Place: That Basin is two Leagues in Circumference, and receives the Lake of *Champlain* by a Water-fall that is a League and a half in length; out of which there arises a River that disembogues at *Sorel* into the River of St. *Laurence*, as I intimated above in my fourth Letter. In former times this Place had a great Trade in Beaver-skins, which is now decay'd: for the *Soccokis*, the *Mabingans*, and the *Openangos*, us'd formerly to resort thither in shoals, to exchange their Furs for other Goods; but at present they are retir'd to the *English* Colonies, to avoid the pursuit of the *Iroquese*.<sup>1</sup> The *Champlain* Lake, which lies above that Water-fall, is eighty Leagues in circumference. At the end of this Lake we met with another, call'd *S. Sacrement*, by which one may go very easily to *New-York*, there being but

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<sup>1</sup> These were tribes who had formerly occupied Acadia and Maine, and had migrated with the Abenaki to the St. Lawrence. The Sokoki (Soccoki) were Abenaki whose habitat was the Saco River, and whose enmity with the Mohawk was of long standing. One of this tribe, Squanto, led the attack on the English settlement at Saco, Sept. 18, 1675. The Openangoes were the Algonquian of New Brunswick, called by the English Quoddy Indians. The Mahican (Mohegan) was a numerous Algonquian tribe, whose first habitat was the valley of the Hudson, later that of the Connecticut. The French usually called them Loups (Wolves). — Ed.

a Land-carriage of two Leagues from thence to the River *Du Fer*, which falls into the *Manatbe*.<sup>1</sup> While I was at *Chambli*, I saw two Canows loaded with Beaver-skins pass privately by that way; and 'twas thought they were sent thither by *Mr. de la Barre*. This smuggling way of Trade is expressly prohibited: for they are oblig'd to carry these Skins before the Office of the Company, where they are rated at an Hundred and 60 *per Cent.* less than the *English* buy 'em at in their Colonies.<sup>2</sup> But the little Fort that stands at the bottom [48] of the Water-fall, upon the brink of the Basin of *Chambli*, being only single Pallifadoes, it cannot hinder People to pass that way; especially considering that the Prospect, of so great a profit, renders the Passengers the more daring. The Inhabitants of the adjacent Villages are very much expos'd to the Incurfions of the *Iroquese* in time of War. Notwithstanding the weakness of the Fort, I continued in that place a Month and a half, and then I return'd hither, where *Mr. de la Barre* arriv'd some days after; being accompany'd with *Mr. Hennaut*,

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<sup>1</sup> The Indian name for Lake George was Andiatarocté, "where the lake is shut in." The Jesuit missionary Jogues named it (1646) Lac du St. Sacrement. In 1755 Sir William Johnson changed the name in honor of the English king. The River Du Fer is the north branch of the Hudson which falls into the "Manathe," i. e. the river of Manhattan. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> The Compagnie des Indes Occidentales was created May 24, 1664, and given the monopoly of the fur-trade of Canada. Upon the protestation of the colony's merchants, the company relinquished the monopoly in favor of the right to levy a duty of one-fourth of the beaver skins and one-tenth of the moose skins imported from Canada. The company was dissolved in 1674, but the king retained the duties in the same form, and farmed them out for 350,000 livres. The farmer formed a company, sometimes spoken of as the "Company of Domain." This is the one to which Lahontan here refers. The price paid for beaver was regulated by edict. — ED.

Mr. *Montortier*, and Mr. *du Rivau*. Much about the same day there arriv'd 25 or 30 Canows, belonging to the *Coueurs de Bois*, being homeward bound from the great Lakes, and laden with Beaver-skins. The Cargo of each Canow amounted to 40 Packs, each of which weighs 50 pound, and will fetch 50 Crowns at the Farmers Office. These Canows were follow'd by 50 more of the *Outaouas* and *Hurons*, who come down every Year to the Colony, in order to make a better Market than they can do in their own Country of *Missilimakinac*, which lies on the Banks of the Lake of *Hurons*, at the Mouth of the Lake of the *Illinefe*.<sup>1</sup> Their way of Trading is as follows.

Upon their first Arrival, they incamp at the distance of five or six hundred Paces from the Town. The next day is spent in ranging their Canows, unloading their Goods, and pitching their Tents, which are made of Birch Bark. The next day after, they demand Audience of the Governour General; which is granted 'em that same day in a publick place. Upon this Occasion, each Nation makes a Ring for it self; the *Savages* sit upon the Ground with their Pipes in their Mouths, and the Governour is seated in an arm'd Chair; after which, there starts up an Orator or Speaker from one of these Nations, who makes an Harangue, importing, 'That his 'Brethren are come to visit the Governour general, and to 'renew [49] with him their wonted Friendship: That their 'chief View is, to promote the Interest of the *French*, some of

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<sup>1</sup> For the early history of Mackinac (Missilimakinac) see Thwaites, "Story of Mackinac," in *How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest* (Chicago, 1903). Illinois Lake (Lac d' Illinois) was an early name for Lake Michigan. — Ed.

‘whom being unacquainted with the way of Traffick, and  
 ‘being too weak for the transporting of Goods from the  
 ‘Lakes, would be unable to deal in Beaver-skins, if his Breth-  
 ‘ren did not come in person to deal with ’em in their own  
 ‘Colonies: That they know very well how acceptable their  
 ‘Arrival is to the Inhabitants of *Monreal*, in regard of the  
 ‘Advantage they reap by it: That in regard the Beaver-skins  
 ‘are much valued in *France*, and the *French* Goods given in  
 ‘exchange are of an inconsiderable Value, they mean to give  
 ‘the *French* sufficient proof of their readines to furnish ’em  
 ‘with what they desire so earnestly: That by way of prepara-  
 ‘tion for another Years Cargo, they are come to take in  
 ‘Exchange, Fufees, Powder, and Ball, in order to hunt great  
 ‘numbers of Beavers, or to gall the *Iroquefe*, in case they offer  
 ‘to disturb the *French* Settlements: And, in fine, That in con-  
 ‘firmation of their Words, they throw a Purcelain *Colier*  
 ‘with some Beaver-skins to the *Kitchi-Okima* (so they call the  
 ‘Governour-General) whose Protection they lay claim to in  
 ‘case of any Robbery or Abuse committed upon ’em in the  
 ‘Town.<sup>1</sup>

The Spokesman having made an end of his Speech, returns to his Place, and takes up his Pipe; and then the Interpreter explains the Substance of the Harangue to the Governour, who commonly gives a very civil Answer, especially if the Present be valuable: in consideration of which, he likewise

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<sup>1</sup> See Lahontan’s explanation of this term in his Table, post. John Long, an English trader of a century later, gives nearly the same form for the Algonquian word. See Long, *Voyages and Travels* (Thwaites’s ed., Cleveland, 1904), p. 242. — ED.

makes them a Present of some trifling things. This done, the Savages rise up, and return to their Hutts to make suitable Preparations for the ensuing Truck.

The next day the Savages make their Slaves carry the Skins to the Houses of the Merchants, who bargain with 'em for such Cloaths as they want. All the Inhabitants of *Monreal* are allow'd to traffick with [50] 'em in any Commodity but Wine and Brandy; these two being excepted upon the account that when the Savages have got what they wanted, and have any Skins left, they drink to excess, and then kill their Slaves; for when they are in drink, they quarrel and fight; and if they were not held by those who are sober, wou'd certainly make Havock one of another.<sup>1</sup> However, you must observe, that none of 'em will touch either Gold or Silver. 'Tis a comical sight, to see 'em running from Shop to Shop, stark naked, with their Bow and Arrow. The nicer sort of Women are wont to hold their Fans before their eyes, to prevent their being frighted with the view of their ugly Parts. But these merry Companions, who know the brisk She-Merchants as well as we, are not wanting in making an Offer, which is sometimes accepted of, when the Present is of

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<sup>1</sup> The sale of liquor to the Indians had long agitated the colony. Champlain forbade the traffic (1633), except under strict control; but by 1660 it had attained such excesses that Bishop Laval pronounced excommunication against all colonists who sold brandy to savages, and the following year secured a royal edict punishing the crime with death. The excitement in the colony was so great that the edict was revoked, and in Frontenac's first governorship a compromise established, whereby the carrying of liquor into the woods was prohibited, but a moderate sale allowed in the colony. The question never ceased to be agitated by the missionaries, and the evasions of the ordinance by *coureurs des bois* were a standing grievance. — Ed.

good Mettle. If we may credit the common Report, there are more than one or two of the Ladies of this Country, whose Constancy and Vertue has held out against the Attacks of several Officers, and at the same time vouchsaf'd a free access to these nasty Lechers. 'Tis presum'd their Compliance was the Effect of Curiosity, rather than of any nice Relish; for, in a word, the Savages are neither brisk, nor constant. But whatever is in the matter, the Women are the more excusable upon this Head, that such Opportunities are very unfrequent.

As soon as the Savages have made an end of their Truck, they take leave of the Governour, and so return home by the River of *Outaouas*.<sup>1</sup> To conclude, they did a great deal of good both to the Poor and Rich; for you will readily apprehend, that every body turns Merchant upon such occasions.

*I am, SIR, Yours, &c.*

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<sup>1</sup> The Ottawa River was at first called River of the Algonkins, and *Rivière des Prairies*. Its present name arose not from its being the habitat of the Ottawa tribe, but because it was the route by which the Ottawa came to Canada from the "upper country" (*pays en haut*). — ED.



## LETTER IX.

Dated at *Boucherville*, Octob. 2. 1685.

*Being an Account of the Commerce, and Trade of Monreal: Of the Arrival of the Marquis of Denonville with some Troops; and of the recalling of Mr. de la Barre. With a curious Description of certain Licenses for Trading in Beaver-skins in the remote Countries.*

SIR,

I RECEIV'D your second Letter three Weeks ago, but could not fend a speedier Answer, by reason that none of our Ships have yet fet Sail for *France*. Since you want to know the nature of the Trade of *Monreal*, be pleas'd to take the following Account.

Almost all the Merchants of that City act only on the behalf of the *Quebec* Merchants, whose Factors they are. The Barques which carry thither dry Commodities, as well as Wine and Brandy, are but few in number; but then they make several Voyages in one Year from the one City to the other. The Inhabitants of the Island of *Monreal*, and the adjacent Cantons, repair twice a Year to the City of *Monreal*, where they buy Commodities fifty *per Cent.* dearer than at *Quebec*. The Savages of the neighbouring Countries, whether settled

or errattick, carry thither the Skins of Beavers, Elks, Caribous, Foxes, and wild Cats; all which, they truck for Fufees, Powder, Lead, and other Neceffaries. There every one is allow'd to trade; and indeed 'tis the beft place for the getting of an Eftate in a fhort time. All the Merchants have fuch a perfect good underftanding one with another, that they all fell at the fame price. [52] But when the Inhabitants of the Country find their Prices exorbitant, they raife their Commodities in proportion. The Gentlemen that have a Charge of Children, efpecially Daughters, are oblig'd to be good Husbands, in order to bear the Expence of the magnificent Cloaths with which they are fet off; for Pride, Vanity, and Luxury, reign as much in *New France* as in *Old France*. In my opinion, 'twould do well, if the King would order Commodities to be rated at a reafonable Price, and prohibit the felling of Gold or Silver Brocadoes, Fringes, and Ribbands, as well as Points and rich Laces.

The Marquis of *Denonville* is come to fucceed Mr. *de la Barre* in the quality of Governour-General; for the King has recall'd Mr. *de la Barre*, upon the Accufations laid againft him by his Enemies. To be fure, you who are in *France* know better than I, that Mr. *de Denonville* was *Maitre de Camp* to the Queen's Regiment of Dragoons, which Place he fold to Mr. *Murcey* when the King beftow'd this Government upon him; and, that he brought with him fome Companies of Marines, befides his Lady and his Children: for it feems the danger and inconveniencies that attend fuch a long and

troublesome Voyage, made no Impression upon her.<sup>1</sup> This Governour stay'd at first some Weeks at *Quebec*, after which he came to *Monreal*, with 500 or 600 Men of Regular Troops, and sent back the Captains *Hainaut*, *Montortier*, and *du Rivo*, with several other Officers. His Army is now in Winter Quarters all round *Monreal*. My Quarters are at a Place call'd *Boucherville*, which lies at the distance of three Leagues from *Monreal*.<sup>2</sup> I have been here fifteen Days, and in all appearance shall live more happily than in the Town, abating for the Solitude; for at least I shall have no other opposition to encounter in the case of Balls, Gaming, or Feasting, but the zealous Freaks of a silly Priest. I am inform'd, that the Governour [53] has given Orders to compleat the Fortifications of *Monreal*,<sup>3</sup> and is now ready to embarque for *Quebec*, where our Governours commonly pass the Winter. The Savages I spoke of in my last, met the *Iroquese* upon the great River of the *Outaouas*, who inform'd 'em that the *English* were making Preparations to transport to their Villages in *Missilimakinac*, better and cheaper Commodities than those they had from the

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<sup>1</sup> Jacques René de Brisay, marquis de Denonville, had served in the French armies for thirty years. He was a zealous and pious officer, but unequal to the difficulties of the situation in Canada; recalled in 1689, he was given honorable preferment at court. Madame de Denonville was the last French woman of rank to honor Canada with her presence at the government house. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Boucherville was founded in 1667 by Pierre Boucher, formerly governor of Trois Rivières, and the first Canadian ennobled by the king. The Boucher family was one of the most important in the colony. See Sulte, "Pierre Boucher et son Livre" in *Can. Roy. Soc. Proc.*, series ii, vol. ii, sec. i, pp. 99-168. — ED.

<sup>3</sup> Montreal until this time had scarcely any military protection. In 1685 six hundred men were employed, under a royal engineer, in erecting a palisade over twelve feet in height, with five gates and five posterns. — ED.

*French.* This piece of News did equally alarm the Gentlemen, the Pedlers call'd *Coueurs de Bois*, and the Merchants; who, at that rate, would be considerable Losers: for you must know, that *Canada* subsists only upon the Trade of Skins or Furs, three fourths of which come from the People that live round the great Lakes: So that if the *English* should put such a Design in execution, the whole Country would suffer by it; especially considering, that 'twould sink certain Licenses: an Account of which will be proper in this place.

These Licenses are granted in Writing by the Governours General, to poor Gentlemen and old Officers who have a Charge of Children. They are dispos'd of by the King's Orders; and the Design of 'em is, to enable such Persons to send Commodities to these Lakes. The Number of the Persons thus empower'd, ought not to exceed twenty five in one Year: but God knows how many more have private Licenses. All other Persons, of what Quality or Condition soever, are prohibited to go or send to these Lakes, without such Licenses, under the pain of Death.<sup>1</sup> Each License extends to the lading of two great Canows; and whoever procures a whole or a half License for himself, may either make use of it himself, or sell it to the

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<sup>1</sup> The licenses (congés) for trade in the Western country were established in the latter years of Frontenac's first administration, partly, as Lahontan says, as a measure of charity or relief, partly as a means of restricting the *coueurs des bois*. The abuses were so great that in 1697 the king revoked all licenses and abolished the system. At the close of Queen Anne's War (1702-13), the licenses were again issued, and utilized as a means for provisioning expeditions against the Foxes and the other recalcitrant Indians of the upper country. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, xvii. This policy was maintained throughout the French regime. Henry describes it as still existing in 1765; see his *Travels and Adventures* (Bain's ed., Boston, 1901), pp. 183, 184.—Ed.

highest Bidder. Commonly they are bought at fix hundred Crowns a-piece. Those who purchase 'em are at no trouble in finding Pedlars or Forest-Rangers to undertake the long Voyages, which fetch the most considerable [54] Gains, and commonly extend to a Year, and sometimes more. The Merchants put into the two Canows stipulated in the License, fix Men with a thousand Crowns-worth of Goods, which are rated to the Pedlars at fifteen *per Cent.* more than what they are sold for in ready Money in the Colony. When the Voyage is perform'd, this Sum of a thousand Crowns commonly brings in seven hundred *per Cent.* clear profit, and sometimes more, sometimes less; for these Sparks call'd *Coueurs de Bois* bite the Savages most dexterously, and the lading of two Canows, computed at a thousand Crowns, is a Purchase for as many Beaver-skins as will load four Canows: Now, four Canows will carry a hundred and sixty Packs of Skins, that is, forty a-piece; and reckoning each Pack to be worth fifty Crowns, the value of the whole amounts to eight thousand Crowns. As to the Repartition of this extravagant Profit, 'tis made after the following manner: In the first place, the Merchant takes out of the whole bulk fix hundred Crowns for the Purchase of his License; then a thousand Crowns for the prime Cost of the exported Commodities. After this, there remains 6400 Crowns of Surplusage, out of which the Merchant takes forty *per Cent.* for Bottomree, which amounts to 2560 Crowns; and the Remainder is divided equally among the fix *Coueurs de Bois*, who get little more than 600 Crowns a-piece: and indeed I must say 'tis fairly earn'd; for their Fatigue is inconceivable.

In the mean time, you must remark, that over and above the foregoing profit, the Merchant gets 25 *per Cent.* upon his Beaver-skins by carrying them to the Office of the Farmers General, where the Price of four sorts of Beaver-skins is fix'd. If the Merchant sells these Skins to any private Man in the Country for ready Money, he is paid in the current Money of the Country, which is of less value than the Bills of Exchange that the Director of [55] that Office draws upon *Rochel* or *Paris*; for there they are paid in *French* Livres, which are twenty *Sols*, whereas a *Canada* Livre is but fifteen *Sols*. This Advantage of 25 *per Cent.* is call'd *le Benefice*; but take notice, that 'tis only to be had upon Beaver-skins: for, if you pay to a *Quebec* Merchant 400 *Canada* Livres in Silver, and take from him a Bill of Exchange upon his Correspondent in *France*, his Correspondent will pay no more than 300 *French* Livres, which is a just Equivalent.

This is the last Intelligence I shall give you for this Year, which has already brought in a very cold *Autumn*. The *Quebec* Ships must set Sail in the middle of *November*, pursuant to the wonted Custom. I am,

S I R,

*Yours, &c.*

## LETTER X.

Dated at *Boucherville* July 8. 1686.

*Relating the Arrival of Mr. de Champigni, in the room of Mr. de Meules, who is recall'd to France; the arrival of the Troops that came along with him, the curiosity of the Rackets, and the way of hunting Elks; with a Description of that Animal.*

SIR,

THOUGH I have not heard from you this year, yet I will not flight this opportunity of writing to you. Some Ships from *France* are arriv'd at *Quebec*, and have brought over Mr. *de Champigni Noroua*, [56] with some Companies of Marines. He comes to supply the place of Mr. *de Meules*, whom the King recalls upon the unjust complaints that are made of him. He is charg'd with preferring his private Interest to the publick Good; but the charge is false, and he will easily clear himself. I am apt to believe he may have carry'd on some underhand Commerce, but in so doing he injur'd no body; nay, on the contrary he has procur'd Bread for a thousand poor Creatures, that without his Assistance would have starv'd for Hunger. This new Intendant is descended of one of the most Illustrious Families of the Robe in *France*. He is said to be a Man of Honour, and Fame entitles his

Lady to a distinguishing Merit: I understand, he and Mr. *Denonville* are bound speedily for *Monreal*, where they mean to take a review of the Inhabitants of this Island, and of the Neighbouring Cantons.<sup>1</sup> Probably, they take such precautions in order to some new effort against the *Iroquefe*. Last Winter we had no new Occurrences in the Colony. I spent the whole Winter at the hunting of Originals or Elks along with the Savages, whose Language I am learning, as I have intimated to you several times.<sup>2</sup>

The hunting of Elks is perform'd upon the Snow, with such *Rackets* as you see design'd in the annex'd Cut. These *Rackets* are two Foot and a half long, and fourteen Inches broad; their ledges are made of a very hard Wood, about an Inch thick, that fastens the Net just like a Tennis Racket, from which they differ only in this; that those for the Tennis are made of Gut-strings, whereas the others are made of little thongs of the skins of Harts or Elks. In the Cut, you may perceive two little spars of Wood, which run a-crofs to render the Net firmer and stiffer. The hole that appears by the two Latchets, is the place in which they put the Toes and fore-

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<sup>1</sup> Jean Bochart de Champigny was one of the most able and faithful of Canadian intendants. He was sent (1686) to replace Jacques de Mueles, who had come out with La Barre (1682), but had proven his bitter enemy, and was also complained of by the new governor Denonville. Champigny lived in concord with the latter, with whose politics he coincided. The harmony with Frontenac was less sincere; but in the last years of the latter, they became good friends. Champigny was recalled to France (1702) to take position as intendant at Havre. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> The "original" or elk of Canada is not to be confounded with the American elk or wapiti (*Cervus Canadensis*), called La Biche by the French; this is the moose of northern North America (*Cervus alces*). See Caton, *Antelope and Deer of North America* (New York, 1877). — ED.



part of the Foot; so that 'tis tied fast by [57] the two Latchets, which run twice round about the Heel, and every step they make upon the Snow, the fore-part of the Foot sinks into that hole, as often as they raise their Heel. By the help of this Contrivance they walk faster upon the Snow, than one can do with Shoes upon a beaten path: And indeed 'tis so necessary for them, that 'twould be otherwise impossible not only to hunt and range the Woods, but even to go to Church, notwithstanding they are so near; for commonly the Snow is three or four Foot deep in that Country during the Winter. Being oblig'd to march thirty or forty Leagues in the Woods in pursuit of the above-mention'd Animals, I found that the fatigue of the Journey equal'd the pleasure of it.

The *Original* is a sort of Elk, not much different from that we find in *Muscovy*. 'Tis as big as an *Auvergne* Moyle, and much of the same shape, abating for its Muzzle, its Tail, and its great flat Horns, which weigh sometimes 300, and sometimes 400 weight, if we may credit those who pretend to have weigh'd 'em. This Animal usually resorts to planted Countries. Its Hair is long and brown; and the Skin is strong and hard, but not thick. The Flesh of the *Original*, especially that of the Female sort, eats deliciously; and 'tis said, that the far hind Foot of the Female kind, is a Cure for the Falling-Sickness; it neither runs nor skips, but its trot will almost keep up with the running of a Hart. The Savages assure us, that in Summer 'twill trot three Days and three Nights without intermission. This sort of Animals commonly gather into a body towards the latter end of Autumn; and the Herds are

largest in the beginning of the Spring, at which time the she ones are in rutting; but after their heat is over, they all disperse themselves. We hunted 'em in the following manner: First of all, we went 40 Leagues to the Northward of the River of St. *Laurence*, [58] where we found a little Lake of three or four Leagues in Circumference, and upon the banks of that Lake, we made Hutts for our selves of the barks of Trees, having first clear'd the Ground of the Snow that cover'd it. In our Journey thither, we kill'd as many Hares and Woodhens, as we could eat. When we had fitted up our Hutts, the Savages went out upon the discovery of the Elks, some to the Northward, and some to the South, to the distance of two or three Leagues from the Hutts. As soon as they discover'd any fresh foot-steps, they detach'd one of their number to give us notice, to the end, that the whole Company might have the pleasure of seeing the chace. We trac'd these foot-steps sometimes for one, and sometimes for two Leagues, and then fell in with five, ten, fifteen or twenty Elks in a body; which presently betook themselves to flight, whether a part or in a Body, and sunk into the Snow up to their Breast. Where the Snow was hard and condensed, or where the frost following wet Weather had glaz'd it above, we came up with 'em after the chace of a quarter of a League: But when the Snow was soft or just fallen, we were forc'd to pursue 'em three or four Leagues before we could catch 'em, unless the Dogs happen'd to stop 'em where the Snow was very deep. When we came up with them, the Savages fired upon 'em with Fuses. If the Elks be much inrag'd they'll sometimes turn upon the Sav-

ages, who cover themselves with Boughs in order to keep off their Feet, with which they would crush 'em to pieces. As soon as they are kill'd, the Savages make new Hutts upon the spot, with great Fires in the middle; while the Slaves are employ'd in fleaing 'em, and stretching out the Skins in the open Air. One of the Soldiers that accompany'd me, told me one Day, that to withstand the violence of the Cold, one ought to have his Blood compos'd of Brandy, [59] his Body of Brafts, and his Eyes of Glafs: And I must say, he had some ground for what he spoke, for we were forc'd to keep a Fire all round us, all the Night long. As long as the Flesh of these Animals lasts, the Savages seldom think of stirring; but when 'tis all consum'd, they then look out for a new Discovery. Thus they continue to hunt, till the Snow and the Ice are melted. As soon as the great thaw commences, 'tis impossible for 'em to travel far; so that they content themselves with the killing of Hares and Partridges, which are very numerous in the Woods. When the Rivers are clear of the Ice, they make Canows of the Elk-skins, which they sew together very easily, covering the Seams with a fat sort of Earth instead of pitch. This work is over in four or five days time, after which they return home in the Canows with all their Baggage.

This, Sir, was our Diversion for three Months in the Woods. We took fifty six Elks, and might have kill'd twice as many, if we had hunted for the benefit of the Skins. In the Summer season, the Savages have two ways of killing 'em, both of which are equally troublesome. One consists in hanging a Rope-gin between two Trees, upon a Pass surrounded with Thorns; the

other is compafs'd by crawling like Snakes among the Trees and Thickets, and approaching to 'em upon the Leeward fide, fo that they may be fhoot with a Fufee. Harts and Caribous are kill'd both in Summer and Winter, after the fame manner with the Elks; excepting that the Caribou's, which are a kind of wild Affes, make an eafie efcape when the Snow is hard, by vertue of their broad Feet; whereas the Elk finks as faft as he rifes.<sup>1</sup> In fine, I am fo well pleas'd with the hunting of this Country, that I have refolv'd to imploy all my leifure time upon the Exercife. The Savages have promifed, that in three Months time [60] I fhall fee other forts of chafes, which will prove lefs fatiguing, and more agreeable. I am,

S I R,

*Yours, &c.*

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<sup>1</sup> Caribou is the American woodland reindeer, *Rangifer caribou* or *tarandus*. By the term "hart," Lahontan intends the common deer, *Cervus virginianus*. — ED.

## LETTER XI.

Dated at *Boucherville* May 28. 1687.

*Being a curious Description of the Hunting of divers Animals.*

SIR,

YOU complain that the last year you receiv'd but one of my Letters, dated *July* 8. and with the same breath assure me, that you writ two to me, neither of which is come to hand. I receiv'd a Letter from you this Day, which is so much the more acceptable, that I thought you had been dead, and that I find you continue to give proof of your remembrance of me. I find by your Letter, that you have an agreeable relish for the curious Elk-Hunting in this Country, and that a further account of our other hunting Adventures, would meet with a welcome Reception. This Curiosity, indeed, is worthy of so great a Hunts-Man as your self; but at present I must beg your excuse as to the Beaver-hunting, for I know nothing of it yet but by hear-say.

In the beginning of *September*, I set out in a Canow upon several Rivers, Marshes, and Pools, that disembogue in the Champlain Lake, being accompany'd with thirty or forty of the Savages that are very expert in Shooting and Hunting, and perfectly [61] well acquainted with the proper places for finding Water-fowl, Deer, and other fallow Beasts. The first

Post we took up was upon the side of a Marsh or Fen of four or five Leagues in Circumference; and after we had fitted up our Hutts, the Savages made Hutts upon the Water in several places. These Water-Hutts are made of the branches and leaves of Trees, and contain three or four Men: For a Decoy they have the skins of Geese, Bustards, and Ducks, dry'd and stuff'd with Hay, the two feet being made fast with two Nails to a small piece of a light plank, which floats round the Hutt. This place being frequented by wonderful numbers of Geese, Ducks, Bustards, Teals, and an infinity of other Fowl unknown to the *Europeans*; when these Fowls see the stuff'd Skins swimming with the Heads erected, as if they were alive, they repair to the same place, and so give the Savages an opportunity of shooting 'em, either flying, or upon the Water; after which the Savages get into their Canows and gather 'em up. They have likewise a way of catching 'em with Nets, stretch'd upon the surface of the Water at the Entries of the Rivers. In a word, we eat nothing but Water-fowl for fifteen Days; after which we resolv'd to declare War against the Turtle-Doves, which are so numerous in *Canada*, that the Bishop has been forc'd to excommunicate 'em oftner than once, upon the account of the Damage they do to the Product of the Earth. With that view, we imbarqued and made towards a Meadow, in the Neighbourhood of which, the Trees were cover'd with that sort of Fowl, more than with Leaves: For just then 'twas the season in which they retire from the North Countries, and repair to the Southern Climates; and one would have thought, that all the Turtle-Doves upon Earth had chose to pass thro'

this place. For the eighteen or twenty days that we stay'd there, I firmly believe that a thousand [62] Men might have fed upon 'em heartily, without putting themselves to any trouble. You must know, that through the middle of this Meadow there runs a Brook, upon which I and two young Savages shot several Snipes, Rayles, and a certain sort of Fowl call'd *Bateurs de faux*, which is as big as a Quail, and eats very deliciously.<sup>1</sup>

In the same place we kill'd some *Musk-Rats*, or a sort of Animals which resemble a Rat in their shape, and are as big as a Rabbit. The Skins of these Rats are very much valued, as differing but little from those of Beavers. Their Testicles smell so strong of Musk, that no Civet or Antelope that *Afia* affords, can boast of such a strong and sweet smell. We spy'd 'em in the Mornings and Evenings, at which time they usually appear upon the Water with their Nose to the Windward, and betray themselves to the Huntsmen, by the curling of the Water. The *Fouteraux*, which are an amphibious sort of little Pole-Cats, are catch'd after the same manner. I was likewise entertain'd upon this occasion, with the killing of certain little Beasts, call'd *Siffleurs*, or Whiftlers, with allusion to their wonted way of whistling or whizzing at the Mouth of their Holes in fair Weather. They are as big as Hares, but somewhat shorter, their Flesh is good for nothing, but their Skins are recom-

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<sup>1</sup> Many early travellers speak of the number of wild pigeons (*Ectopistes migratoria*). See *Jesuit Relations*, index. *Bateurs de faux* are the North American rail (*Porzana Carolina*) — in French, *rale de la Caroline*. This identification is made by M. Dionne, curator of Laval University, Quebec. — ED.

mended by their rarity. The Savages gave me an opportunity of hearing one of these Creatures whistle for an hour together, after which they shot it.<sup>1</sup> To gratify the curiosity I had to see such diversity of Animals, they made a diligent search for the Holes or Dens of the *Carcaïoux*, and having found some at the distance of two or three Leagues from the Fen upon which we were posted, they conducted me to the place. At the break of day we planted our selves round the Holes, with our Bellies upon the Ground; and left some Slaves to hold the Dogs a Musket-shot behind [63] us. As soon as these Animals perceiv'd Day-light, they came out of their Holes, which were immediately stop'd up by the Savages, and upon that the Dogs fetch'd 'em up with ease. We saw but two of 'em, which made a vigorous defence against the Dogs, but were strangled after a dispute of half an hour. These Animals are not unlike a Badger, only they are bigger, and more mischievous.<sup>2</sup> Tho' our Dogs shew'd a great deal of Courage in attacking the *Carcaïoux*, they betray'd their Cowardice the next day in a rencounter with a Porcupine, which we spy'd upon a little Tree. To obtain the pleasure of seeing the Porcupine fall, we cut down the Tree; but neither the Dogs nor we durst go near it: The Dogs only bark'd and jump'd round it; for it darted its long and hard hair like so many Bodkins, three or

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<sup>1</sup> Muskrats (*Fiber zibethicus*) are widely distributed over the North American continent. The "whistler" is the hoary marmot (*Arctomys pruniosus*). M. Dionne thinks that "foutereaux" must be mink (*Lutreola vison*), which is amphibious, preys on fish, and is a foe to the muskrat. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Carcajou is the usual Canadian term for the wolverine (*Gulo luscus*), also called at times the "beaver eater." — ED.



four paces off. At laſt we pelted it to death, and put it upon the fire to burn off its Darts; after which we ſcalded it like a Pig, took out the Intrails, and roaſted it: But tho' 'twas very fat, I could not reliſh it ſo well as to comply with the aſſertion of the Natives, who alledge, that it eats as well as a Capon or a Partridge.

After the Turtle-Doves had all paſs'd over the place, in queſt of their Southern retreats, the Savages offer'd to ſend ſome of their number with Canows to conduct me home, before the Rivers and Lakes were frozen over; for themſelves were to tarry out for the Elk-hunting; and they imagin'd that the Cold and Hardſhip attending that Exerciſe, had made me ſick of it the year before. However, we had then a Month good before the commencement of the Froſt, and in that interval of time, they proffer'd to entertain me with more diverting Game than any I had ſeen before. They propos'd to go fifteen or ſixteen Leagues further up the Country, aſſuring me, that they knew of a certain place that had the moſt advantageous ſituation [64] in the World, both for Pleaſure and Profit, and that afforded great plenty of Otters, of the Skins of which they mean'd to make a great Cargoe. Accordingly we pull'd down our Hutts, and having imbarqu'd in our Canows, ſail'd up the River, till we came to a little Lake of two Leagues in Circumference, at the end of which we ſaw another greater Lake, divided from this by an Iſthmus of 150 Paces in length. We pitch'd our Hutts at the diſtance of a League from that Iſthmus; and ſome of the Savages fiſh'd for Trouts, while the reſt were employ'd in laying Traps for the

Otters upon the brinks of the Lake. These Traps are made of five Stakes plac'd in the form of an oblong Quadrangle, so as to make a little Chamber, the Door of which is kept up, and supported by a Stake. To the middle of this Stake they tie a string which passes thro' a little fork, and has a Trout well fasten'd to the end of it. Now, when the Otter comes on shoar, and sees this bait, he puts above half his Body into that fatal Cage, in order to swallow the Fish; but he no sooner touches, than the string to which 'tis made fast pulls away the Stake that supports the Door, upon which an heavy and loaded Door falls upon his Reins and crushes him. During our Pilgrimage in that part of the Country, the Savages took above two hundred and fifty *Canada* Otters; the Skins of which are infinitely prittier than those of *Muscovy* or *Sweden*. The best of 'em which are not worth two Crowns in this place, are sold in *France* for four or five, and sometimes for ten, if they are black and very rough. As soon as the Savages had set their Traps, they gave orders to their Slaves to go round the Lake every Morning, in order to take out the amphibious Animals. After that they conducted me to the above-mention'd Isthmus, where I was surpriz'd to see a sort of a Park or Fence made of Trees, fell'd one upon another, [65] and interlac'd with Thorns and Branches; with a quadrangular inclosure of Stakes at the end of it, the entry of which was very narrow. They gave me to know, that they used to hunt Harts in that place, and promis'd to divert me with the shew, as soon as the Inclosures were a little mended. In effect, they carry'd me two or three Leagues off, upon

fuch Roads as had nothing on either fide but Fens and Marfhes; and after they had difpers'd themfelves, fome on one hand and fome on the other, with a Dog for every Man; I faw a great many Harts running to and again, in queft of places of Safety. The Savage that I kept company with, affur'd me, that he and I had no occafion to walk very faft, becaufe he had took the ftraighteft and the neareft Road. Before us we faw above ten Harts, which were forc'd to turn back, rather than throw themfelves into the Marfh, of which they could never get clear. At laft, after walking a great pace, and running now and then, we arriv'd at the Park, and found the Savages lying flat upon the Ground all round it, in order to fhut up the entry of the ftake Inclofure as foon as the Harts enter'd. We found thirty five Harts in the place, and, if the Park had been better fenc'd, we might have had above fixty; for the nimbleft and lighteft of 'em, skip'd over before they came to enter the Inclofure. We kill'd a great many of 'em, but fpar'd the Dams, becaufe they were great with young. I ask'd of the Savages the Tongues and the Marrow of the Harts, which they gave me very readily. The Flefh was very fat, but not delicious, excepting fome few bits about the Ribs. But after all, this was not our only Game; for two days after we went a Bear-hunting, and the Savages who fpend three parts of four of their life in Hunting in the Woods, are very dexterous at that Exercife, efpecially in fingling out the Trunks of the Trees upon [66] which the Bears Nettle. I could not but admire their knowledge in that Point, when, as we were walking up and down in a Foreft, at the

distance of an hundred Paces one from another, I heard one Savage call to another, *Here's a Bear*. I askt 'em how he knew that there was a Bear upon the Tree which he knock'd with his Axe; and they all reply'd, that 'twas as easily distinguish'd as the print of an Elks foot in the Snow. For five or six times they never mis'd; for after they had knock'd two or three times upon the Trunk of the Tree, the Bear came out of its hole, and was presently shot. The *Canada* Bears are extream black, but not mischievous, for they never attack one, unless they be wounded or fir'd upon. They are so fat, especially in the Autumn, that they can scarce walk: Those which we kill'd were extream fat, but their fat is good for nothing but to be burnt, whereas their Flesh, and, above all, their Feet are very nice Victuals. The Savages affirm, that no Flesh is so delicious as that of Bears; and indeed, I think they are in the right of it. While we rang'd up and down in quest of Bears, we had the pleasure of spying some Martins and wild Cats upon the branches of the Trees, which the Savages shot in the Head to preserve their Skin. But the most Comical thing I saw, was the Stupidity of the Wood-hens, which sit upon the Trees in whole Flocks, and are kill'd one after another, without ever offering to stir. Commonly the Savages shoot at 'em with Arrows, for they say they are not worth a shoot of Powder, which is able to kill an Elk or an Hart. I have ply'd this sort of Fowling in the Neighbourhood of our Cantons or Habitations in the Winter time, with the help of a Dog who found out the Trees by scent, and then bark'd; upon which I approach'd to the Tree, and found the Fowls

upon the Branches. When the thaw came, I went two or three Leagues further [67] up the Lake, in Company with some *Canadese*, on purpose to see that Fowl flap with its Wings. Believe me, Sir, this sight is one of the greatest Curiosities in the World; for their flapping makes a noise much like that of a Drum all about, for the space of a Minute or thereabouts; then the noise ceases for half a quarter of an Hour, after which it begins again. By this noise we were directed to the place where the unfortunate Moor-hens sat, and found 'em upon rotten mossy Trees. By flapping one Wing against the other, they mean to call their Mates; and the humming noise that issues thereupon, may be heard half a quarter of a League off. This they do only in the Months of *April, May, September, and October*; and, which is very remarkable, a Moorhen never flaps in this manner, but upon one Tree. It begins at the break of day, and gives over at nine a Clock in the Morning, till about an hour before Sunset that it flutters again, and continues so to do till Night: I protest to you, that I have frequently contented my self with seeing and admiring the flapping of their Wings without offering to shoot at 'em.

Besides the pleasure of so many different sorts of Diverſion, I was likewise entertain'd in the Woods with the company of the honest old Gentlemen that liv'd in former Ages. Honest *Homer*, the amiable *Anacreon*, and my dear *Lucian*, were my inseparable Companions. *Aristotle* too desir'd passionately to go along with us, but my Canow was too little to hold his bulky Equipage of Peripatetick Silogisms: So that he was e'en fain to trudge back to the Jesuits, who vouchsaf'd him a

very honourable Reception. I had a great deal of reason to rid my self of that great Philosopher's Company; for his ridiculous Jargon, and his senseless Terms, would have frightened the Savages out of their wits. Farewell, Sir, I am now arriv'd at once at the end of [68] my Game and my Letter. I have heard no News from *Quebec*, where they continue to make mighty Preparations for some considerable Enterprize. Time will discover a great many things, an Account of which I mean to transmit to you by the Ships that are to leave this Harbour in the end of *Autumn*. I conclude with my usual Compliment,

*Yours, &c.*

## LETTER XII.

Dated at *St. Helens*, over against *Monreal*,<sup>1</sup>

June 8. 1687.

*The Chevalier de Vaudreuil arrives in Canada with some Troops. Both the Regular Troops and the Militia, are posted at St. Helens, in a readinefs to march against the Iroquefe*

S I R,

I HAVE such a budget-full of News, that I know not where to begin. I receiv'd Letters but now from Mr. *Senelay's* Office; by which I have Advice, that Orders are sent to Mr. *Denonville* to allow me to go for *France*, upon my private Concerns.<sup>2</sup> No longer since than Yesterday, he told me I should have Leave to go after the Campaign is over. My Relations write, that the procuring of this Leave cost 'em a great deal of pains; and that the sooner I come to *Paris*, 'twill be the better for me.

The Governour arriv'd at *Monreal* three or four days ago,

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<sup>1</sup> St. Helen Island, in the St. Lawrence opposite Montreal, was named by Champlain in honor of his wife. It was the seigniory of Jacques Le Moyne, sieur de Ste. Hélène, second son of Longueuil, who distinguished himself in the opening of Frontenac's War, and fell at the siege of Quebec (1690). The island, where the troops rendezvoused for Denonville's expedition, is now a public park. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Jean Baptiste Colbert, marquis de Seignelay, eldest son of the great Colbert, succeeded his father (1683) as minister of the marine, which office he administered until his death in 1690. The colonies were controlled by this department of the French administration. — Ed.

with all the Militia of the Country, who lie now incamp'd along with our Troops in that Island. Mr. *D'Amblemont* has been at *Quebec* this Month, with five or six second Rate Ships, having [69] sail'd from *Rochel* thither in 28 days. He brought over with him ten or twelve Companies of Marines, who are to guard the Colony while we invade the *Iroquefe* Country.<sup>1</sup> 'Tis said, that last Year Mr. *Denonville* sent several *Canadese*, that were known and esteem'd by the Savages, our Allies, who live upon the Banks of the Lakes and the adjacent Countries, with Orders to engage 'em to favour our Design of extirpat-ing the *Iroquefe*. In the Winter he made Magazines of Ammu-nition and Provisions, and now he has sent several Canows, laden with Provisions, to Fort *Frontenac*, and given Orders for the building of an infinite number of such Boats as I describ'd in my fourth Letter, for the Transporting of our twenty Com-panies of Marines. The Militia who are incamp'd in this Island along with our Troops, make fifteen hundred Men, and are join'd by five hundred of the converted Savages that live in the Neighbourhood of *Quebec* and the Island of *Monreal*. The Chevalier *Vaudreuil*, who is come from *France* to Com-mand our Troops, is resolv'd to appear in the Field, notwith-standing the Fatigue of his Passage to *Canada*<sup>2</sup>: and the

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<sup>1</sup> D'Amblemont commanded the royal ships sent out with reinforcements. There were now about sixteen hundred regular troops in the colony. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Philippe de Rigaud, Chevalier de Vaudreuil, came to Canada in 1687 as commander of the king's regiment. Three years later he married a Canadian, and permanently threw in his fortunes with the colony. His services were of sufficient value to secure him a marquisate (1702), when he was appointed governor to succeed Cal-lières, an office held until his death in 1726. His son was the last French governor of Canada. — ED.



Governour of *Monreal* is of the same mind. Mr. *de Champigni*, the Intendant of this Country, went from hence to Fort *Fron-tenac* two days ago. The day after to morrow, Mr. *de Denonville* means to march at the Head of his little Army, being accompany'd with an ancient *Iroquefe*, that is very much respected by the five Cantons. The History and various Adventures of this old Gentleman, are too tedious to bear a Relation in this place. Every body is apprehensive that this Expedition will prove as succeſſeſs as that of Mr. *de la Barre*: And if their Apprehenſions are not diſappointed, the King lays out his Money to no purpoſe. For my own part, when I reflect upon the Attempt we made three Years ago, I can't but think it impoſſible for us to ſucceed. Time will diſcover the Conſequences of [70] this Expedition; and perhaps we may come to repent, tho' too late, of our complying with the Advice of ſome Diſturbers of the Publick Peace, who project to enlarge their private Fortunes in a general Commotion. I lay this down for an uncontroverted Truth, that we are not able to deſtroy the *Iroquefe* by our ſelves: beſides, what occaſion have we to trouble 'em, ſince they give us no Provocation? However, let the Event be what it will, I ſhall not fail upon my Return to tranſmit you a Journal of our Actions, unleſs it be, that I embarque for *Rochel*, and deliver it my ſelf: In the mean time, believe me to be,

S I R,

*Yours, &c.*

## LETTER XIII.

Dated at *Niagara*, Aug. 2. 1687.

*Representing the unfavourable Issue of the Campaign made in the Iroquese Country; the Discovery of an Ambuscade; and the issuing of Orders for the Author to march with a Detachment to the great Lakes.*

SIR,

IT has been a Maxim in all Ages, That the Events of things are not always answerable to Mens Expectations: When Men form to themselves a promising prospect of compassing their Ends, they frequently meet with the mortification of seeing themselves disappointed. This I speak by way of application to my self; for instead of going for *France*, pursuant to the Contents of the Letter I writ to you [71] two Months ago, I am now oblig'd to straggle to one End of the World, as you'll find by the following Journal of our Expedition.

We broke up from *St. Helens* much about the time I spoke of in my last. Mr. *de Champigni* went before us with a strong Guard, and arriv'd in a Canow at Fort *Frontenac*, eight or ten days before we came up. As soon as he arriv'd, he sent two or three hundred *Canadese* to surprize the Villages of *Kente* and *Ganeouffe*, which lie at the distance of seven or eight Leagues

from the Fort, and are inhabited by a sort of *Iroquefe*, that deferv'd no other Ufage than what they met with. Our *Canadeſe* had no great difficulty in maſtering them; for they ſurpris'd 'em when they leaſt thought of any Alarm, and brought 'em Priſoners to Fort *Frontenac*, where they were tied to Poſts with Cords round their Necks, Hands, and Feet. We arriv'd at the Fort on the firſt of *July*, after the encountering of ſeveral Difficulties among the Water-falls, Cataracts, and Currents, that I formerly deſcrib'd to you in my Account of Mr. *de la Barre's* Expedition. We were more perplex'd in this Voyage than the former; for our Boats were ſo heavy, that we could not tranſport 'em over Land as we did the Canows, but were oblig'd to drag 'em up through the impracticable Paſſes with the force of Men and Ropes. Immediately upon our Debarquing, I went ſtraight to the Fort, where I ſaw the miſerable Priſoners in the abovemention'd Poſture. The ſight of this piece of Tyranny fill'd me at once with Compaſſion and Horror; but in the mean time the poor Wretches ſung Night and Day, that being the cuſtomary Practice of the People of *Canada* when they fall into the hands of their Enemies. They complain'd, 'That they were betray'd without any ground; 'that in compenſation for the care they had took ever ſince 'the Peace to furniſh the Garrifon with Fiſh and Veniſon, they 'were bound and [72] tied to Poſts, and whip'd in ſuch a 'manner, that they could neither ſleep, nor guard off the Flies; 'that the only Requital they met with for procuring to the '*French* a Commerce in the Skins of Beavers and other Animals, was, to be doom'd to Slavery, and to ſee their Fathers,

‘and the ancient Men of their Country, murder’d before their eyes. Are these the *French*, said they, that the *Jesuits* cry’d up so much for Men of Probity and Honour? Even the ‘cruellest fort of Death that Imagination it self can reach, ‘would be nothing to us in comparifon with the odious and ‘horrible Spectacle of the Blood of our Ancestors, that is shed ‘so inhumanely before our eyes. Assuredly, the five Villages ‘will revenge our Quarrel, and entertain an everlasting and ‘just Resentment of the tyrannical Usage we now meet with.’ I made up to one of these Wretches that was about five and twenty Years old, and had frequently regal’d me in his Hutt, not far from the Fort, during my six Weeks Service in that Place in the Year of Mr. *de la Barre*’s Expedition. This poor Man being Master of the *Algonkin* Language, I gave him to know, that I was heartily griev’d to see him in that dismal Posture; that I would take care to have Viſtuals and Drink convey’d to him twice a day, and would give him Letters for my Friends at *Monreal*, in order to his being us’d more favourably than his Companions. He reply’d, That he saw and was very well acquainted with the Horror that most of the *French* were affected with, upon the view of the Cruelty they underwent; and, that he scorn’d to be fed, or us’d more civilly than his Fellow Prisoners. He gave me an account of the manner in which they were surpris’d, and how their Ancestors were massacred; and truly, I do not believe that any one can be touch’d with more cutting and bitter Reflexions than this poor Man was, when he recounted the many Services he had done the *French*, during [73] the whole course of his Life: At last, after

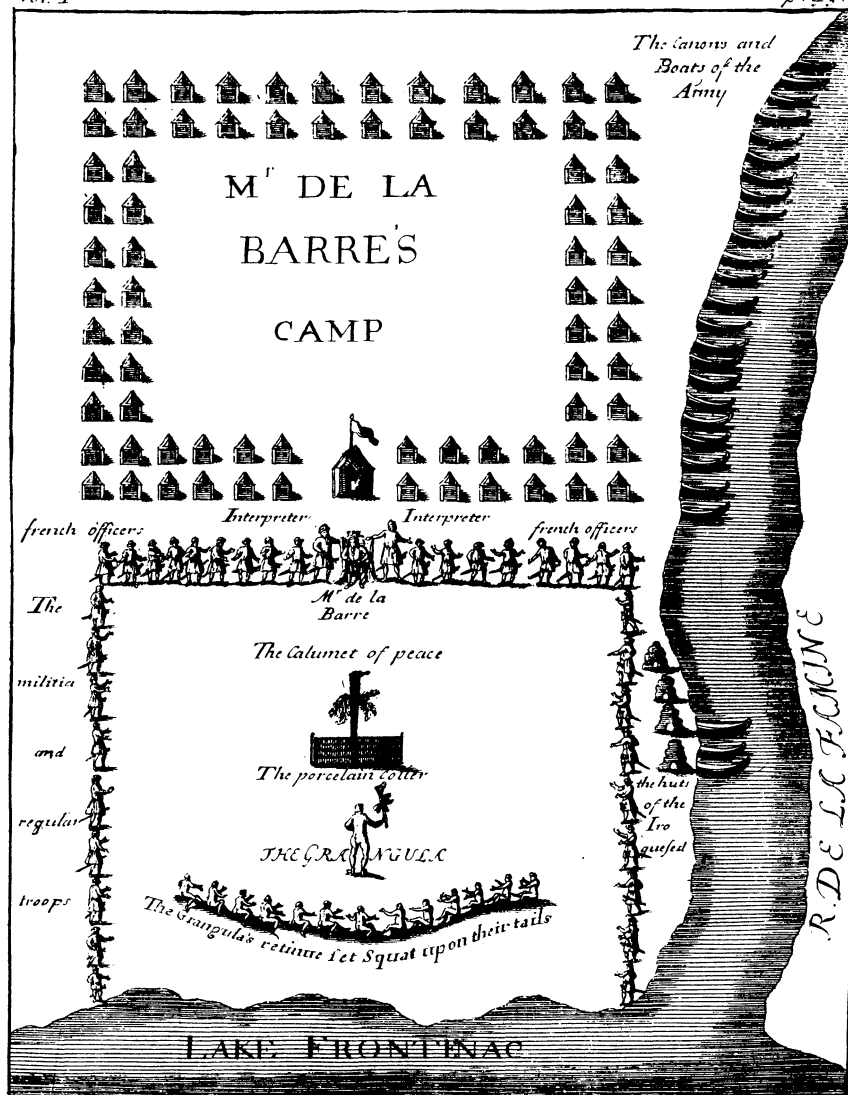
many Sighs and Groans, he bow'd down his Head, and wrap'd himself up in Silence. *Quaque potest narrat, restabant ultima flevit.* But this was not the only thing that affected me, when I beheld the misery of these innocent Creatures: I saw some young Savages of our side burn their Fingers with Fire in their lighted Pipes; which provok'd me to thresh 'em soundly: but I was severely reprimanded for my pains, and confin'd to my Tent for five or six days, where I only repented that I had not dealt my blows in a double measure. These Savages repented the matter so highly, that they ran presently to their Hutts, and flew to their Fuses, in order to kill me. Nay, all that could be done was scarce sufficient to appease 'em; for the Dispute came to that heighth, that they would have left us, if

|| *Among the Savages, drunken Persons are always excus'd: for, the Bottle atones for all Crimes.*

it had not been that our Men assur'd 'em I was || drunk, that all the *French* were prohibited to give me either Wine or Brandy, and that I should certainly be imprison'd as soon as the Campaign were over. How-

ever, the poor Wretches, the Prisoners, were carried to *Quebec*; from whence they are to be sent to the *French* Gallies.<sup>1</sup> Much about that time, the *Sieur de la Forest*, one of the *Mr. de la Salle's* Officers, arriv'd at the Fort in a great Canow, being conducted

<sup>1</sup> For the treacherous action of Denonville in seizing these friendly Iroquois, reprisals were made on the colony. See Parkman, *Frontenac*, pp. 167-183. Thirty-six were shipped to France as the first installment for the royal galleys. See *Jes. Rel.*, lxiii, p. 281. The remnant that survived were reprieved and sent back under Frontenac's care (1689). See list in *Collection de Manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France* (Quebec, 1883), i, p. 454. The French edition of Lahontan gives a more extended and vivid narration of his own peril upon this occasion. — Ed.





thither by eight or ten *Coureurs de Bois*.<sup>1</sup> He gave Mr. *de Denonville* to understand, that a Party of the *Illinefe* and the *Oumamis* waited for the *Hurons* and the *Outaouas* at the Lake of *St. Claire*, in order to joyn 'em, and to march with joint Forces to the River of the *Tsonontouans*, that being the place of their general Rendezvous.<sup>2</sup> He added, that in the Lake of the *Hurons* near *Misslimakinac*, Mr. *de la Durantais*,<sup>3</sup> assisted by the Savages, our Allies, had taken an *English* Company conducted by some *Iroquefe*, who had fifty [74] thousand Crowns-worth of Goods in their Canows, to be dispos'd of in exchange

<sup>1</sup> François Dauphine, sieur de la Forest, was one of La Salle's trusted lieutenants. Born in 1648, he arrived in the colony with his chief (1675), who left him (1678) in charge of Fort Frontenac. Thence he was summoned (1680-81) to accompany La Salle and carry succor to Illinois. In 1683, his fort was treacherously seized by La Barre, La Forest being offered the command if he would forsake La Salle's interests. He preferred to seek redress in France, where an order was issued restoring all to him, in trust for his absent chief. In 1685, he was relieved of Fort Frontenac, and joined Tonty in Illinois, whence he issued to aid this expedition. In 1690 La Forest and Tonty received a grant of Fort St. Louis, in Illinois; this being revoked in 1702. La Forest then became La Mothe's lieutenant at Detroit, and in 1710 was appointed commandant of this post, which position he held until 1714, dying at Boucherville five years later. — ED

<sup>2</sup> As the sequel shows, the rendezvous was at Irondequoit Bay, Monroe County, N. Y. The "River of the Tsonontouans" was Irondequoit Creek, a highway toward the towns of that nation. — ED.

<sup>3</sup> Olivier Morel de la Durantaye, born at Nantes in 1641, came to Canada with the regiment de Carignan. A brief contemporary biography (*Can. Arch.*, 1899, Supp., p. 26) is as follows: "In 1662, ensign; in 1665, captain; in 1663, commandant over the Ottawa country by order of the Court; in 1689, captain on half-pay in Canada; in 1694, captain *enpied* in that country, where he has settled. A good officer. An honest man; ready for any service; entitled to a company." After retiring from his command at Mackinac (1683-89), he aided in Frontenac's War, and was esteemed the first soldier in the colony. He died in 1717, leaving descendants who still live in Canada. — ED.



with the Nations that dwell upon these Lakes: as also, That Mr. *Dulbut* had taken another *English* Convoy, being assisted by the *Coueurs de Bois*, and the Savages, who had shar'd the former Capture; and that he had kept the *English* and *Iroquese* as Prisoners, as well as their Commander, who was call'd Major *Gregory*.<sup>1</sup> In fine, he represented to Mr. *de Denonville*, that 'twas high time for him to set out from Fort *Frontenac*, if he mean'd to appear at the general Rendezvous, where the Auxiliary Troops sent from the Lakes would arrive very speedily. The next day, being the 3d of *July*, the *Sieur de la Forest* embarked again for *Niagara*, and steer'd to the North-side of the Lake. At the same time we embarked, and stood to the opposite side of the Lake, being favour'd by the Calms which in that Month are very common.

By good luck, our whole Body arriv'd almost at one and the same time in the River of the *Tsonontouans*; and upon that occasion, the Savages, our Allies, who draw Predictions from the most trifling Accidents, shew'd their wonted Superstition in taking this for an infallible Presage of the utter Destruction of the *Iroquese*: tho' after all they prov'd false Prophets, as you will find by the sequel of this Letter. The same Night that we Landed, we hawl'd our Canows and Boats out of the Water, and set a strong Guard upon 'em. This done, we

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<sup>1</sup> For an account of the capture of the English and Dutch traders commissioned by Dongan, see Parkman, *Frontenac*, pp. 145-147; *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, pp. 318-322, 363. Colonel Patrick MacGregory emigrated with a colony from Scotland to Maryland, in 1684; later, he removed to New York and engaged in the Indian trade. He was released from imprisonment and sent back to New York in the autumn of 1687, and next year was employed against the Indians in Maine. He was killed during the Leisler rebellion in New York, 1691. — Ed.

built a Fort of Stakes or Pales, where we left the *Sieur Dorvillers* with four hundred Men to guard our Shipping and Baggage.<sup>1</sup> The next day, a young *Canadese*, call'd *Fontaine Marion* was unjustly shot to death. His case stood thus: Having travell'd frequently all over this Continent, he was perfectly well acquainted with the Country, and with the Savages of *Canada*; and after the doing of several good Services to the King, desir'd Leave from the Governour general to continue [75] his Travels, in order to carry on some little Trade: but his Request was never granted. Upon that he resolv'd to remove to *New England*, the two Crowns being then in Peace. The Planters of *New England* gave him a very welcome Reception; for he was an active Fellow, and one that understood almost all the Languages of the Savages. Upon this Consideration he was employ'd to conduct the two *English* Convoys I spoke of but now, and had the Misfortune to be taken along with them. Now, to my mind, the Usage he met with from us was extream hard; for, we are in Peace with *England*: and besides, that Crown lays Claim to the Property of the Lakes of *Canada*.

The next Day we began our March towards the great Village of the *Tsonontouans*, without any other Provisions than ten Biskets a Man, which every one carry'd for himself.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> François Chorel, sieur de St. Romain dit d'Orvilliers, was born near Lyons in 1639, came to Canada about 1660, and was prominent in military affairs in the colony until his death in 1709. Denonville placed him in charge of Fort Frontenac (1685-87), and he commanded in person one division of his expedition. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> The great village of the Seneca was situated in Ontario County, just south of the present town of Victor. See map in Cayuga County Historical Society Collections, iii, and *Jes. Rel.*, li, p. 293. — Ed.

We had but seven Leagues to march in a great Wood of tall Trees, upon a smooth even Ground. The *Coueurs de Bois*, with a Party of the Savages, led the Van, and the rest of the Savages brought up the Rear, our Regular Troops and our Militia being posted in the middle. The first Day the Army march'd four Leagues, and the advanc'd Guards made no Discovery. The second Day our advanc'd Parties march'd up to the very Fields of the Village without perceiving any thing, tho' they past within a Pistol-shot of five hundred *Tsonontouans*, who lay flat upon the Ground, and suffer'd 'em to pass and repass without molestation. Upon their Intelligence we march'd up with equal Precipitation and Confusion, being bouy'd up with the Apprehension that the *Iroquese* had fled, and that at least their Women, Children, and superannuated Persons would fall into our hands. When we arriv'd at the bottom of the Hill upon which the Ambuscade was plac'd, at the distance of a quarter of a League from the Village, they began to raise their wonted Cry, which [76] was follow'd by the firing of some Muskets. Had you but seen, Sir, what Disorder our Troops and Militia were in amidst the thick Trees, you would have joyn'd with me, in thinking that several thousands of *Europeans* are no more than a sufficient number to make head against five hundred Barbarians. Our Battalions were divided into straggling Parties, who fell in to the right and left, without knowing where they went. Instead of firing upon the *Iroquese*, we fir'd upon one another. 'Twas to no purpose to call in the Soldiers of such and such a Battalion, for we could not see thirty Paces off: In fine, we were so

disorder'd, that the Enemy were going to close in upon us with their Clubs in their hands; when the Savages of our side having rally'd, repuls'd the Enemy, and pursu'd 'em to their Villages with so much fury, that they brought off the Heads of eighty, and wounded a great many. In this Action we lost ten Savages, and a hundred *French*: We had twenty or two and twenty wounded, in which number was the good Father *Angeleran* the Jesuit,<sup>1</sup> who receiv'd a Musket-shot in those Parts which *Origen* chose to lop off, in order to qualify himself for instructing the Fair Sex without the disturbance of Passion, or the danger of Scandal. When the Savages brought in the Heads of their Enemies to Mr. *de Denonville*, they ask'd him why he halted, and did not march up? He made Answer, That he could not leave his wounded Men behind, and that he thought it proper to encamp, that the Surgeons might have time to dress their Wounds. To obviate this Pretence, the Savages offer'd to make Litters for the transporting of 'em to the Village that lay but a little way off. But our General did not approve of their Advice; upon which, notwithstanding his Remonstrances, they drew up into a Body, and tho' they consisted of ten different Nations, agreed in a joynt Resolution of pursuing their Enemy, in hopes of taking, at [77] least their Women, their Old-men, and their Children.

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<sup>1</sup> Father Jean Enjalran (born in 1639) came to Canada in 1676, and the following year was sent to the Ottawa mission at Mackinac, where he remained until 1688, acting as superior of Ottawa missions for the last seven years. He had been instrumental in persuading the savages to join this expedition. The next year (1688) he went to France, but was again in Canada until 1701, when he returned to his native land for the last time, and died there in 1718. — ED.

Our General being acquainted with their Resolution, gave 'em to know, that he earnestly desir'd they would rest for one day, and not depart from his Camp, and that the next day he would burn their Villages, and starve 'em to Death by spoiling their Crops. But they took this Compliment so ill, that most of 'em return'd to their own Country; remonstrating, 'That 'the *French* came out to fetch a Walk, rather than to wage 'War, since they would not take the Advantage of the best 'Opportunity in the World: That their Ardour, like a flash 'of Fire, was extinguish'd as soon as kindled: That 'twas a 'fruitless Adventure, to draw together so many Warriours, 'from all Parts, to burn some Hutts of Bark, that the Enemy 'could rebuild in four days: That the *Tsonontouans* did not 'matter the spoiling of their Corn, for that the other *Iroquesse* 'Nations were able to supply 'em: And in fine, That since 'they had joyn'd the *French* twice together to no purpose, 'they would never trust 'em for the future, in spite of all the Remonstrances they could make.' Some are of the opinion, that Mr. *de Denonville* ought to have gone farther; and others affirm, that 'twas impossible for him to do more than he did. For my part, I shall not venture upon any Decision of the matter; those who sit at the Helm are most liable to be perplex'd. To pursue the bare matter of Fact; we march'd next day to the great Village, and carry'd our wounded Men upon Litters: but we found nothing there but Ashes; for the *Iroquesse* had burnt the Village themselves, by way of Precaution. Then we spent five or six days in cutting down the *Indian* Corn with our Swords. From thence we march'd to the two little Villages

of the *Tbegaronbies* and the *Danoncaritaoui*, which lay about two or three Leagues off.<sup>1</sup> Having done the like Exploits there, we return'd to the Lake side. In all these Villages we [78] found plenty of Horfes, black Cattel, Fowl, and Hogs. All the Country round afforded us a very charming, pleasant, and even Prospekt. The Forests thro which we march'd were replenish'd with Oak, Wall-nut, and wild Chesnut-Trees.

Two days after we imbarqu'd for *Niagara*, which lay thirty Leagues off, and arriv'd there in four days. As soon as the Troops had debarqu'd, we imploy'd 'em in making a Fort of Pales with four Bastions, which was finish'd in three days.<sup>2</sup> Here we mean to leave 120 Soldiers under the command of Mr. *des Bergeres*, with Ammunition and Provisions for eight Months.<sup>3</sup> The Fort stands on the South side of the Streight of *Herriè* Lake, upon a Hill; at the foot of which, that Lake falls into the Lake of *Frontenac*. Yesterday the Savages our

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<sup>1</sup> These villages were in the vicinity of Honeoye Falls, Monroe County, N. Y. See Hawley, "Jesuit Missions among the Senecas," in Cayuga Co. Hist. Soc. *Collections*, iii, pp. 25, 26. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> It had long been a favorite plan of the leaders of New France to place a fort at Niagara, and thus intercept the fur-trade which passed through the Great Lakes to the Iroquois and English. La Salle built a block house on this site in 1679, which was destroyed by the Senecas; see Hennepin, *New Discovery*. Dongan (1686) complained that Denonville was planning to build "a fort at Ohinagero on this side the lake, within my Master's territories without question." *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, iii, p. 455. Denonville ordered the demolition of this fort, Sept. 15, 1688. A permanent French fort was begun on this site in 1726, being captured by the English (1759), and later surrendered to the Americans (1796). See Severance, *Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier* (Buffalo, 1899). — ED.

<sup>3</sup> Chevalier de Troyes was left first in command at this fort, where he died in the following year. See *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, pp. 335, 368, 396. Raymond Blaise des Bergères, sieur de Rigauville, was captain of a company stationed at Niagara; later he was major at Three Rivers. His son commanded at Niagara (1732-36). — ED.

Allies took leave of Mr. *de Denonville*, and made a Speech after their usual manner; in which, among other things, they insinuated, That they were pleas'd to see a Fort so conveniently plac'd, which might favour their retreat upon any Expedition against the *Iroquese*; That they depended upon his promise, of continuing the War till the five Nations should be either destroy'd or dispossest of their Country; That they earnestly desir'd that part of the Army should take the Field out of hand, and continue in it both Winter and Summer, for that they would certainly do the same on their part; and in fine, That for as much as their Alliance with *France* was chiefly grounded upon the promises the *French* made of listening to no Proposals of Peace, till the five Nations should be quite extirpated; they therefore hop'd they would be as good as their Word; especially considering that a Cessation of Arms would fully the honour of the *French*, and infallibly disengage their Allies. Mr. *de Denonville* gave them fresh assurances of his intention to carry on the War, in spite of all the efforts of the *Iroquese*; and in a [79] word, protested that he would prosecute this design so vigorously, that in the end these *Barbarians* should be either quite cut off, or oblig'd to shift their Seats.

The General call'd for me that very day, and acquainted me, that in regard I understood the Language of the Savages, I was to go with a Detachment to cover their Country pursuant to their Request. At the same time he assur'd me, he would inform the Court of the Reasons that mov'd him to detain me in *Canada*, notwithstanding that he had orders to give me leave to go home. You may easily guess, Sir, that I

was thunderstruck with these News, when I had fed my self all along with the hopes of returning to *France*, and promoting my Interest, which is now so much thwarted. However, I was forc'd to be contented; for the greater Power bears the sway all the World over. Pursuant to my orders, I made all suitable preparations for my Voyage, without loss of time. I took leave of my Friends, who singled out the best Soldiers for me; and made me Presents of Cloaths, Tobacco, Books, and an infinity of other things, that they could spare without any inconveniency, because they were then upon their return to the Colony, which affords every thing that one can desire. By good luck, I brought my Astrolabe with me from *Monreal*, which will enable me to take the Latitudes of this Lake, and to make several other useful Observations; for in all appearance, I shall be out two years or such a matter. The Men of my Detachment are brisk proper fellows, and my Canows are both new and large. I am to go along with Mr. *Dulbut*, a *Lions* Gentleman, who is a Person of great Merit, and has done his King and his Country very considerable Services. Mr. *de Tonti* makes another of our Company<sup>1</sup>; and a Company of Savages is to follow us. Mr. *de Denonville* will set out [80]

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<sup>1</sup> Henry de Tonty was a Neapolitan, whose father invented the insurance system called from his name, "tontine." Tonty entered the French service at the age of eighteen, and won distinction in the army, where he lost one of his hands. In 1677 he met La Salle, and embarked on his enterprise of discovery, accompanied him to the Illinois, and there took command of Fort St. Louis. After La Salle's death this fort was granted to Tonty and La Forest as a seigniory, and there for ten years or more they held command. Tonty assisted Cadillac in founding Detroit (1701), after which he was ordered to aid Iberville in Louisiana, where he died of yellow fever in 1704. See Legler, "Henry de Tonty," Parkman Club *Papers* (Milwaukee, 1896).—ED.



for the Colony by the North side of the Lake of *Frontenac*, in two or three days. He designs to leave at Fort *Frontenac*, a number of Men and Ammunition equal to what he leaves here. I herewith transmit some Letters for my Relations, which I beg you would convey to their Hands. If I meet with any opportunity, I'll send you a Journal of my Voyage the next year. In the mean time, I am,

S I R,

*Yours, &c.*

## LETTER XIV.

Dated at Missilimakinac May 26. 1688.

*The Author leaves Niagara, and has an Incounter with the Iroquefe at the end of the Land-Carriage. The after part of his Voyage. A Description of the Country. He arrives at Fort St. Joseph in the Mouth of the Lake of Hurons. A Detachment of the Hurons arrive at the same place. After an Ingagement, they set out for Missilimakinac. A strange Adventure of Mr. de la Salle's Brother. Missilimakinac describ'd.*

SIR,

I AM at a loss to determine whether 'tis owing to Stupidity, or greatness of Mind, that the loss of my Estate, which I infallibly foresee, do's not at all affect me. Your Letter is but too shrewd a confirmation of my Prophecy: However, I cannot but pursue your seasonable advice in writing to Court; [81] in the meantime suffer me to satisfy my promise, in presenting you with a relation of my Voyages.

I imbarqued at *Niagara August 3.* on board a Canow mann'd with eight Soldiers of my Detachment; and after running three Leagues against the Current of the Streight, came that same day to the place where the Navigation stops. There I met with the *Sieur Grifolon de la Tourette*, Brother to Mr. *Dulbut*, who had ventur'd to come from *Missilimakinac* with a

single Canow to joyn the Army.<sup>1</sup> The 4<sup>th</sup> we commenc'd our great Land-Carriage to the Southward, being oblig'd to transport our Canows from a League and a half below the great Fall of *Niagara*, to half a League above it. Before we got at any beaten or level Path, we were forc'd to climb up three Mountains, upon which an hundred *Iroquefe* might have knock'd us all on the head with Stones.<sup>2</sup> While we were employ'd in this transport Service, we were alarm'd twice or thrice; which caution'd us to keep a strict guard, and to transport our Baggage with all possible Expedition: Nay, after all our precautions we were forc'd to leave one half of our Baggage about half way, upon the discovery of a thousand *Iroquefe* that march'd towards us. Do you judge, Sir, if we had not some reason to be alarm'd; and whether we would stand to Sacrifice all to the natural principle of Self preservation; tho' indeed we were in danger of losing our Lives as well as our Baggage: for we had not imbarqued above the Fall half a quarter of an hour, when the Enemy appear'd upon the Streight side. I assure you, I 'scap'd very narrowly; for about a quarter of an hour before, I and three or four Savages had

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<sup>1</sup> Claude Greysolon de la Tourette, younger brother of Duluth, assisted him in all his adventures, and ably seconded his measures. In 1678 he accompanied him to the upper country, and when Duluth built the fort on Lake Nipigon (1683), he named it La Tourette and placed his brother in charge. Their uncle patron bequeathed his possessions to the younger nephew in 1691, and at the time of Duluth's death, La Tourette was living in Lyons, France. The report which he made to Denonville after this encounter with Lahontan, is found in *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, p. 343. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> For a description of the "three Mountains," which are the three levels of the cliff above Lewiston, see Parkman, *La Salle*, p. 132, note. Hennepin first described the portage path; see *New Discovery*, pp. 103, 104, 324. — ED.

gone five hundred paces out of our Road, to look upon that fearful Cataract; and 'twas as much as I could do, to get at the Canows before they put off. To be taken by such cruel Fellows, [82] was to me no trifling thing.

*Il morir e niente, ma il vivere brugiando troppo. To die is nothing, but to live in the midst of Fire \* is too much.*

\* The Prisoners taken by the *Iroquese* are frequently burnt.

As for the Waterfall of *Niagara*; 'tis seven or eight hundred foot high, and half a League broad. Towards the middle of it we descry an Island that leans towards the Precipice, as if it were ready to fall. All the Beasts that cross the Water within half a quarter of a League above this unfortunate Island, are suck'd in by force of the Stream: And the Beasts and Fish that are thus kill'd by the prodigious fall, serve for food to fifty *Iroquese*, who are settled about two Leagues off, and take 'em out of the water with their Canows. Between the surface of the water that shelves off prodigiously, and the foot of the Precipice, three Men may cross in a breath without any other damage, than a sprinkling of some few drops of water.<sup>1</sup>

To return to the Story of the thousand *Iroquese*; I must tell you, that we cross'd the Streight with all the vigour we were

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<sup>1</sup> The first allusion to Niagara Falls is found in the account of Cartier's voyage, in 1535. Champlain heard many relations of the falls from the Indians, but never saw them in person. Hennepin's appears to be the first detailed description by an eye witness; but he characteristically exaggerates the height and noise of the cataract. See *New Discovery*, pp. 54-56, with illustration.

The Seneca village mentioned by Lahontan must have been a temporary camp. The Senecas lived east of Genesee River until after Denonville's expedition, and had no permanent village near Niagara until a number of years later. — ED.

masters of, and after rowing all Night, arriv'd next Morning at the mouth of the Lake, which appear'd to be indifferent rapid. Then we were secure from all danger, for the *Iroquefe* Canows are so dull and large, that they cannot fail near so quick as those made of Birch-bark. The former are made of Elm-bark, which is very heavy, and their form is very aukard; for they are so long and broad that thirty Men row in them, two abreast, whether fitting or standing, and the sides are so low, that they dare not venture 'em upon the Lakes, tho' the wind be very slack. We coasted along the North-Coast of the Lake of *Erie*, being favour'd by the Calms, which are in a manner constant in that season, especially in the Southern Countries. Upon the brink of this Lake we frequently saw [83] flocks of fifty or sixty Turkey's, which run incredibly fast upon the Sands: And the Savages of our Company kill'd great numbers of 'em, which they gave to us in exchange for the Fish that we catch'd. The 25<sup>th</sup> we arriv'd at a long point of Land which shoots out 14 or 15 Leagues into the Lake; and the heat being excessive, we chose to transport our Boats and Baggage two hundred paces over-land, rather than coast about for thirty five Leagues.<sup>1</sup> *Septemb.* 6. We enter'd the Streight of the Lake of *Huron*, where we met with a slack Current of half a League in breadth, that continued till we arriv'd in the Lake of *St. Claire*, which is twelve Leagues in Circumference. The 8<sup>th</sup> of the same Month we steer'd on to the other end, from whence we had but six Leagues to run against the stream,

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<sup>1</sup> Long Point, Lake Erie, which Hennepin called "Cape St. Francis." — ED.

till we arriv'd in the Mouth of the Lake of *Hurons*, where we landed on the 14<sup>th</sup>. You cannot imagine the pleasant prospect of this Streight, and of the little Lake; for their banks are cover'd with all sorts of wild Fruit-Trees. 'Tis true, the want of Agriculture sinks the agreeableness of the Fruit; but their plenty is very surprising.<sup>1</sup> We spy'd no other Animals upon the shoar, but Herds of Harts, and Roe-bucks: And when we came to little Islands, we scour'd 'em, in order to oblige these Beasts to cross over to the Continent, upon which they offering to swim over, were knock'd on the head by our Canow-men that were planted all round the Islands. After our arrival at the Fort, of which I was order'd to take possession, Mr. *Dulbut* and Mr. *de Tonti* had a mind to rest themselves for some days, as well as the Savages that accompany'd us. This Fort, which was built by Mr. *Dulbut*, was Garri-fon'd upon his own charges by the *Coueurs de Bois*, who had taken care to sow in it some Bushels of *Turkey-Wheat*, which afforded a plentiful Crop, that prov'd of great use to me.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hennepin says that he named Lake St. Clair, and gives its Iroquois name as "Otsi Keta." All early travellers remark on the beauty of the landscape and the abundance of wild fruit in the vicinity of Detroit. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 129, 366. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> It was part of Denonville's plan to bar the English from the upper lakes by erecting a fort at Detroit River. Accordingly in 1686 he sent word to Duluth to proceed thither and erect a stockade. In the autumn of that year, Duluth collected fifty coureurs des bois, and built the post, which he named Fort St. Joseph — not on the site of Detroit, but where St. Clair River flows from Lake Huron, apparently near the present Fort Gratiot, Michigan. See *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, pp. 300, 302. A contemporary description says: "Our Fort covers a square of one Arpent in extent, without the Bastions, and is very advantageously Situated on an Eminence, separated from the River by a gentle slope of about forty paces, which forms a very pleasant

The Garrison surrendered their Post very [84] cheerfully to my Detachment; and then pursued their Commerce with our Savages, for every one had leave to go where he pleas'd. This gave me an opportunity of sending two Canows under a guard of Soldiers, to dispose of a great Roll of Tobacco of 200 weight, that Mr. *Dulbut* had kindly presented me with; for that honest Gentleman inform'd me, that my Soldiers might easily purchase Corn in exchange for Tobacco, sooner than for any other Commodities. I am oblig'd to him as long as I live; but I am much affraid, the Treasurer of the Navy will make him no better compensation for this piece of Service, than for a thousand other disbursements upon the King's account. The Soldiers I sent with the Tobacco, return'd in the latter end of *November*, and brought with 'em the Reverend Father *Avenau* the Jesuit, who found no occasion to trouble himself with preaching up Abstinence from Meat in the time of *Lent*.<sup>1</sup> They brought advice, that a Party of the *Hurons* being prepar'd to march out of their Villages, to attack the *Iroquese* Beaver-hunters, would speedily repair to the Fort to rest themselves. In the mean time I waited with impatience

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Glacis [parapet]. Care has been taken to place it at the narrowest part of the River, which is here a gunshot in width." *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 128. The further history of Fort St. Joseph, which Lahontan was to command, is related by him.

"Turkey wheat" is maize or Indian corn, so called from a vague notion that it was first found in Turkey. — ED.

<sup>1</sup> Father Claude Aveneau came to Canada in 1685, and was assigned next year to the Ottawa mission at Mackinac. One would judge from Lahontan's remark that this missionary acted as chaplain of Fort St. Joseph throughout the winter of 1687-88. He passed the remainder of his life in the West, for many years serving in the Miami mission, and finally dying at Quebec in 1711. — ED.

for the arrival of one *Turcot*,<sup>1</sup> and four more of the *Coueurs de Bois*, who were to come to me in the beginning of *December*, along with some other Huntsmen that Mr. *de Denonville* had promis'd to send me: But hearing nothing of 'em, and our Commons being at that time very short, I should have been very much pinch'd, if four young *Canadese* who were expert Huntsmen, had not tarry'd with me all Winter. The above-mention'd Party of the *Hurons* arriv'd *Decemb. 2.* being headed by one *Saentsouan*, who left me his Canow and his Baggage, to keep till he return'd; for he could not possibly continue his Navigation longer, upon the account that the surface of the water began then to be cover'd with Ice. These Savages chose to march [85] over-land to the Fort of *Niagara*, where they expected to receive intelligence before they enter'd the Country of the *Iroquese*. They march'd ten days, *i. e.* fifty Leagues, without seeing one Soul. But at last their Scouts perceiv'd the foot-steps of some Huntsmen, which they trac'd at a great pace for a whole Night, the Snow being then a foot deep. Towards the break of day they return'd, and gave notice to their Fellow-Adventurers, that they had discover'd six Hutts, with ten Men lodg'd in each of 'em. Upon this Intelligence the whole party made a halt, in order to paint their faces, to prepare their Arms, and to concert proper Measures. The attack was so form'd, that two Men made

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<sup>1</sup> A habitant by this name was captured by the Iroquois in 1652. As *coureur des bois*, he was accused of taking refuge among the English to escape his crimes — *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, p. 133. He appears to have been pardoned and again received in favor by the French authorities. — Ed.



softly up to the two doors of the Hutts with their Clubs in their Hands, to knock down any one that offer'd to come out, while the rest were employ'd in firing their pieces. And the Action was crown'd with wonderful Success; for the *Iroquese* being surpriz'd and shut up in their bark Prisons, there was but two out of sixty four that made their escape; and these two being naked and destitute of Fire-Arms, could not but perish in the Woods. Three of the *Hurons* indeed were kill'd upon the spot, but to atone for that loss, the Aggressors carry'd off fourteen Prisoners, and four Women. This done, they march'd back to my Fort with all possible Expedition. Among the Captive Slaves, there were three who had made part of the number of the 1000 *Iroquese* that thought to have surpris'd us the year before, when we were employ'd in the great Land-Carriage at *Niagara*. They gave us to understand, that the Fort of *Niagara* was block'd up by eight hundred *Iroquese*, who mean'd to appear before my Post without any delay. This troublesome piece of news gall'd me to the last degree, for fear of being reduc'd to extremities; and with that view I was a very nice Husband of what Corn I had [86] left. I was not apprehensive of being attack'd by 'em, for the Savages never fight fairly, neither do they ever attempt to pull up Palissadoes; but I was afraid that they would starve us out by cramping our Huntsmen in their due range. However, the *Hurons* continuing fifteen days in my Fort to refresh themselves, I us'd the precaution of ingaging them to assist my Huntsmen in providing Meat: But as soon as they took leave

of me in order to return home, our hunting was at an end and the Gates were kept shut.

At last, finding that my Provisions were almost out, I resolv'd to go to *Missilimakinac*, to buy up Corn from the *Hurons* and the *Outaouans*.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, having left some Soldiers to guard the Fort in my absence, I imbarqu'd with the rest of my Detachment on the first of *April*, with a gentle South-East Gale; by the help of which we insensibly cross'd the Bay of *Saguinan*. That little Gulf is six hours over, and in the middle of it there are two little Islands, which afford a very seasonable shelter when a wind arises in the crossing over. Before you have cross'd this Bay, the Coast is all a long full of Rocks and Shelves, one of which that I saw was six Leagues broad: But above it the Coast is clean and low, especially towards the Sand-River, which lies half way between that Bay and a place call'd *l'Anse du Tonnerre*.<sup>2</sup> Now this last place is reckon'd thirty Leagues off the Bay. Having past that, we had but thirty Leagues more to sail; which we did without any danger, by the help of an East-South-East Gale, that swell'd the Waves prodigiously. In the Mouth of the *Illinefe* Lake we met the party of the *Hurons* that I mention'd before; and four or five hundred *Outaouas*, who were bound home, after having spent the Winter in hunting of Beavers upon the River of *Saguinan*. Both they and we were forc'd to

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<sup>1</sup> In the French edition, Lahontan explains that to abandon one's post would be censured in the Old World; in the New, it is regarded as a species of heroism. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> The description of Saginaw Bay, River Au Sable (Sand River), and Thunder Bay is easily recognized. — ED.

lye by in that place for three or [87] four days, by reason of the Ice : After which the Lake was clear'd, and we crofs'd it together. When the *Hurons* came ahoar, they consulted among themselves how to dispose of their Slaves : After which they made a Present of one of 'em to Mr. *de Juchereau*, who commanded in that place<sup>1</sup>; but the poor wretch was presently shot to Death. Another of 'em was presented to the *Outaouas*, who granted him his Life, for such reasons as you would easily apprehend, if you were better acquainted with the policy and cunning of that sort of Men, whom you now take for Beasts.

I arriv'd in this place on the 18<sup>th</sup> of *April*, and my uneasiness and trouble took date from the day of my arrival: For I found the *Indian* Corn so scarce by reason of the preceding bad Harvests, that I despair'd of finding half so much as I wanted. But after all, I am hopeful, that two Villages will furnish me with almost as much as I have occasion for. Mr. *Cavelier* arriv'd here *May* 6, being accompany'd with his Nephew, Father *Anastase* the Recollet, a Pilot, one of the Savages, and some few *Frenchmen*, which made a sort of a party-colour'd Retinue. These *Frenchmen* were some of those that Mr. *de la Salle* had conducted upon the discovery of

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<sup>1</sup> This was probably Charles Juchereau de St. Denis, eldest son of Nicolas, sieur de Beauport, who the previous year had been employed as a messenger to Mackinac by Denonville. During the absence of La Durantaye (1687-88) he commanded the post. In later years he became councillor of the king, and lieutenant general of Montreal; he assisted Iberville in founding Louisiana, and in 1702 built a post near the mouth of the Ohio. A younger brother, Louis, undertook a remarkable exploration into New Mexico, and lived for many years at Natchitoches. — ED.

*Mississi.* They give out, that they are sent to *Canada*, in order to go to *France*, with some Dispatches from Mr. *de la Salle* to the King: But we suspect that he is dead, because he do's not return along with 'em. I shall not spend time in taking notice of their great Journey over-land; which by the account they give cannot be less than eight hundred Leagues.<sup>1</sup>

*Missilimakinac*, the place I am now in, is certainly a place of great Importance. It lies in the Latitude of forty five Degrees, and thirty Minutes; but as for its Longitude, I have nothing to say of it, for reasons mention'd in my second Letter. 'Tis not above half a League distant from the *Illinise* Lake, [88] an account of which, and indeed of all the other Lakes, you may expect else-where. Here the *Hurons* and *Outaouas* have, each of 'em, a Village; the one being sever'd from the other by a single Palissadoe: But the *Outaouas* are

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<sup>1</sup> These were the survivors of La Salle's last and fatal expedition, which was to have founded a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. See Parkman, *La Salle*, pp. 356-446; Sulte, "Le Mort de La Salle," in *Can. Roy. Soc. Proc.*, 2d series, iv, pp. 3-32.

Abbe Jean Cavelier, the elder brother of the explorer, was born in Rouen, and became a Sulpitian priest. He had preceded La Salle to Canada, and often vexed him by his censoriousness. Joining this last expedition, he led the few survivors of the party, after the murder of La Salle, back from Texas to Canada; and concealed the death of the explorer from all his friends en route, partly to secure his brother's property. He died in 1717 at the house of his sister in Rouen.

Jean Cavelier, the younger, was a nephew of La Salle, a lad of fourteen when he embarked with his uncle at La Rochelle (1684). Returning to France, he entered the army.

Father Anastase Douay was, according to Hennepin, a native of Hainault. This was his first journey to America, and his published *Memoir* is largely used as a source for the expedition. After his return to Europe he was vicar of the Recollects at Cambray, and in 1699 embarked the second time for Louisiana, with Iberville, to found a mission among the *Cenis*. — Ed.

beginning to build a Fort upon a Hill, that stands but 1000 or 1200 paces off. This Precaution they were prompted to by the murder of a certain *Huron*, call'd *Sandaouires*, who was assassinated in the *Saguinan* River by four young *Outaouas*. In this place the Jesuits have a little House, or Colledge adjoyning to a fort of a Church, and inclos'd with Pales that separate it from the Village of the *Hurons*. These good Fathers lavish away all their Divinity and Patience to no purpose, in converting such ignorant Infidels: For all the length they can bring 'em to, is, that oftentimes they'll desire Baptism for their dying Children, and some few superannuated Persons consent to receive the Sacrament of Baptism, when they find themselves at the point of Death.<sup>1</sup> The *Coueurs de Bois* have but a very small settlement here; though at the same time 'tis not inconsiderable, as being the Staple of all the Goods that they truck with the South and the West Savages; for they cannot avoid passing this way, when they go to the Seats of the *Illinese*, and the *Oumamis*, or to the Bay *des Puants*,<sup>2</sup> and to the River of *Mississipi*. The Skins which they import from

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<sup>1</sup> During the French regime Michillimackinac (now Mackinac) was the capital of the Northwest. It had been occupied by traders for many years; but the first Jesuit mission was not begun until Marquette established that of St. Ignace in 1671. A few years later the fort was built and garrisoned. Mackinac Island is 45° 54' north latitude by 80° 30' west longitude; but the Mackinac of Lahontan's time lay on the north shore of the strait, as his map plainly indicates. For further details of the history of this place, see Thwaites, "Story of Mackinac," in *How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest* (Chicago, 1903). — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Bay des Puants (Stinkards) was the French name for Green Bay, Wisconsin. The origin of the term arose from the significance of the name of the Winnebago (men from the bad-smelling water). For further details, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 3; Thwaites, *Stories of the Badger State* (New York, 1900), p. 30. — Ed.

these different places, must lye here some time before they are transported to the Colony. *Missilimakinac* is situated very advantageously; for the *Iroquesse* dare not venture with their sorry Canows, to cross the Streight of the *Illinese* Lake, which is two Leagues over; besides that the Lake of the *Hurons* is too rough for such slender Boats: And as they cannot come to it by Water, so they cannot approach to it by Land, by reason of the Marshes, Fens, and little Rivers, which 'twould be very difficult to cross; not to mention that the Streight of the *Illinese* Lake lies still in their way.

[89] You can scarce believe, Sir, what vast shoals of white Fish are catch'd about the middle of the Channel, between the Continent and the Isle of *Missilimakinac*. The *Outaouas* and the *Hurons* could never subsist here, without that Fishery; for they are oblig'd to travel above twenty Leagues in the Woods, before they can kill any Harts or Elks, and 'twould be an infinite fatigue to carry their Carcasses so far over Land. This sort of white Fish in my opinion, is the only one in all these Lakes that can be call'd good; and indeed it goes beyond all other sorts of River Fish. Above all, it has one singular property, namely, that all sorts of Sauces spoil it, so that 'tis always eat either boil'd or broil'd, without any manner of seasoning.<sup>1</sup> In the Channel I now speak of the Currents are so strong, that they sometimes suck in the Nets, though they are two or three Leagues off. In some seasons, it so falls out that the Currents

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<sup>1</sup> There are several species of the whitefish of the lakes. The common one, *Coregonus clupeiformis*, is the largest and the best food. These fish formed an important article of Indian diet. — ED.

run three days Eastward, two days to the West, one to the South, and four Northward; sometimes more, and sometimes less. The cause of this diversity of Currents could never be fathom'd, for in a calm, they'l run in the space of one day to all the points of the Compass, *i. e.* sometimes one way, sometimes another, without any limitation of time; so that the decision of this matter must be left to the Disciples of *Copernicus*. Here the Savages catch Trouts as high as one's Thigh, with a sort of Fishing-Hook made in the form of an Awl, and made fast to a piece of Brafs wire, which is joyn'd to the Line that reaches to the bottom of the Lake.<sup>1</sup> This sort of Fishery is carried on not only with Hooks, but with Nets, and that in Winter, as well as in Summer: For they make holes in the Ice at a certain distance one from another, thro' which they conduct the Nets with Poles. The *Outaouas* and the *Hurons* have very pleasant Fields, in which they sow *Indian* Corn, Pease, [90] and Beans, besides a sort of Citruls,<sup>2</sup> and Melons, which differs much from ours, and of which I shall take occasion to speak in another place. Sometimes, these Savages sell their Corn very dear, especially when the Beaver-hunting happens not to take well: Upon which occasion they make sufficient reprisals upon us for the extravagant price of our Commodities.

As soon as I have bought up fixty sacks of Corn, each of

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<sup>1</sup> This is the Mackinac trout (*Salvelinus namaycush*), which often grows to great size. Its flesh is inferior to that of the whitefish. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Citrouille, or summer squash (*Cucurbita polymorpha*) was raised extensively by the North American Indians. — ED.

which may weigh fifty pound, I am to march with my Detachment alone to *St. Mary's Fort*, in order to ingage the *Sauteurs* or the Inhabitants of *Saut Saint Marie*, to joyn the *Outaouas*<sup>1</sup>; after which we mean to march with joynt Forces to the Country of the *Iroquefe*. Besides thefe, there's a party of a hundred *Hurons* ready to march, under the Command of the great Leader *Adario*, whom the *French* call the *Rat*; but they do not march our way. I fhall write to you with the firft Opportunity after my return from this Expedition.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the Jefuits will fend your Letters for me along with Mr. *Denonville's* to Fort St. *Joseph*, where I am to refide. I fhall expect their arrival with the utmoft impatience. In the mean time I fend you a Letter directed to Mr. *de Seignelai*, the purport of which I have here fubjoyn'd. 'Twill be a very fenfible obligation laid upon me, if you vouchsafe to believe that I always am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

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<sup>1</sup> The *Sauteurs* were a Chippewa tribe, so named by the French from first encountering one of their bands at Sault Ste. Marie; the name was afterwards extended to the entire tribe. Sault Ste. Marie was visited by traders as early as 1616, and the Jesuit mission thereat was established in 1669. In early days it took precedence of Mackinac; but after the discovery of the Mississippi, the latter place increased in importance, as being upon the path thither, and by 1689 the Sault was practically abandoned, except as a station on the trade route to the far Northwest.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> This is Lahontan's first mention of the famous chief, to whom he ascribes his *Dialogues*. Kondiaronk, to give him his Huron name, was a savage of much ability, who played a prominent part in Frontenac's War (1689-97). His skill in diplomacy, and in confederating the tribes, makes of him a precursor of Pontiac and Tecumseh. He was strongly attached to Frontenac, and accepted his counsel. Charlevoix says that he was a Christian convert, and often preached at Mackinac. Dying at Montreal during an important peace conference (1701), he was interred with elaborate rites. See Charlevoix, *Histoire de Nouvelle France* (Shea's trans.), v, pp. 145-148.—ED.



[91] *The Letter directed to Mr. de Seignelay.*

*Honoured Sir,*

I AM the Son of a Gentleman that spent three hundred thousand Crowns in deepening the Water of the two *Gaves* of *Bearn*: He had the good luck to compass his End by conveying a great many Brooks to these two Rivers; and the Current of the *Adour* was by that means so far strengthen'd as to render the Bar of *Bayonne* passable by a fifty Gun Ship, whereas in former times a Frigate of ten Guns durst not venture over it. 'Twas in consideration of this great and successful Attempt, that his Majesty granted to my Father and his Heirs for ever, certain Duties and Taxes, amounting to the Sum of three thousand Livres a Year. This Grant was confirm'd by an Act of the Council of State, dated *January* 9. 1658, Sign'd *Boffuet*, Collated, &c. Another Advantage accruing to the King and the Province from my Father's Services, consists in the bringing down of Mafts and Yards from the *Pyrenean* Mountains, which could never have been effected, if he had not by his Care, and by the disbursing of immense Sums, enlarged the quantity of Water in the *Gave* of *Oleron* to a double proportion. These Duties and Taxes which had been justly intail'd upon him and his Heirs, ceas'd to be ours when he dy'd; and to inflame the Disgrace, I lost his Places, *viz.* that of being a Honorary Judge of the Parliament of *Pau*, and Chief

Justice in Eyre for the Province of *Bearn*; all which were mine by Inheritance.<sup>1</sup> These Losses are now follow'd by an unjust Seizure that some pretended Creditors have made of the Barony of *la Hontan*, [92] of a piece of Ground that lies contiguous to it, and of a hundred thousand Livres that lay in the hands of the Chamber of *Bayonne*. These faithless Creditors have no other reason to sue me, but that I am now in the fagg end of the World, and that they are rich, and supported by the Credit and Protection of the Parliament of *Paris*, where they hope to make good their unjust Pretensions in my Absence. Last Year I obtain'd Leave to return to *France*, in order to take care of this matter; but now Mr. *de Denonville* has sent me with a Detachment to these Lakes; from whence I humbly petition that your Honour would vouchsafe me Leave to come home the next Year, and at the same time honour me with your Protection. I am, with all possible respect,

*Your Honours, &c.*

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<sup>1</sup> For a further account of the services of Lahontan's father, Isaac Lom d'Arce, baron de Lahontan and d'Esleich, see Roy, "Le Baron de Lahontan," in *Can. Roy. Soc. Proc.*, 1st series, xii, pp. 67-69, 166-173. — Ed.

## LETTER XV.

Dated at *Miffilimakinac* Sept. 18. 1688.

*Describing the Fall call'd Saut St. Marie, where the Author persuades the Inhabitants to joyn the Outaouas, and march against the Iroquefe. And containing an Account of the Occurrences of the Voyage between that Place and Miffilimakinac.*

SIR,

I AM now return'd from the *Iroquefe* Country, and have quitted the Fort of *St. Joseph*, against my Will. I cannot allow my self to doubt, but that you took care of the Letter directed for Mr. *de Seignelay*, which I transmitted to you three Months ago.

[93] I set out from hence in my Canow, *June 2.* And after my Arrival at the Water-fall call'd *Saut Sainte Marie*, I persuaded forty young Warlike Fellows to joyn the Party of the *Outaouas* that I mention'd in my last. This *Saut Sainte Marie* is a Cataract, or rather a Water-fall of two Leagues in length, which gives vent to the Waters of the upper Lake, and at the bottom of which, not far from the *Jesuits House*, there's a Village of the *Outchipoues*, aliàs *Sauteurs*.<sup>1</sup> This Place is a great Thoroughfare for the *Coureurs de Bois* that trade with the

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<sup>1</sup> For an interesting Indian legend of the origin of Sault Ste. Marie, see *Jes. Rel.*, liv, p. 201. — ED.

Northern People, who usually repair to the brinks of that Lake in the Summer. The continual Fogg that rises from the upper Lake, and spreads over the adjacent Country, renders the Ground so barren, that it bears no Corn. The 13th of the same Month I set out from the abovemention'd Village, being accompany'd by the forty young *Sauteurs*, who embark'd in five Canows, each of which held eight Men. The 16th we arriv'd at the Isle of *Detour*, where my Soldiers and the Party of the *Outaouas* had tarry'd for me two days.<sup>1</sup> The first day was spent by the *Outaouas* and the *Sauteurs* in Warlike Feasts, Dancing, and Singing, pursuant to their wonted Custom: The next day we all embark'd, and traversing from Isle to Isle, made the Island of *Manitoualin* in four days. This Island is 25 Leagues long, and seven or eight broad. In former times 'twas possess'd by the *Outaouas* of *Talon*, call'd the *Otontagans*; who were dislodg'd by the Progress of the *Iroquese*, that has ruin'd so many Nations.<sup>2</sup> We coasted upon that Isle a whole day; and being favour'd by a Calm, cross'd from Isle to Isle

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<sup>1</sup> Isle of Detour was the present Drummond Island, which lies east of Detour Strait—the passage to St. Mary's River; the Indian name was "Pontaganipy." In 1815 the island obtained its present title in honor of Sir Gordon Drummond, then lieutenant-governor of Canada. See Cook, *Drummond Island* (Lansing, Mich., 1896). —ED.

<sup>2</sup> Grand Manitoulin Island appears to have been the original home of the Ottawa — first called by the French "cheveux relevez," from their custom of wearing the hair erect. See *Jes. Rel.*, xiv, note 9. After the devastation of the Huron country by the Iroquois (1649–51), many of the vanquished Huron fled to Manitoulin; later, the entire island appears to have been deserted. The *Relation* of 1670–72 speaks of a tribe of Ottawa who had betaken themselves to this island, their former home; probably this was the band led by chief Talon (named for the intendant of Canada), whom Hennepin encountered in this country. See his *New Discovery*, pp. 316, 317. The present Indian population is an admixture of Huron and Ottawa. —ED.

till we made the East-side of the Lake. In this Passage we cross'd between two Islands that were six Leagues distant the one from the other; and upon that occasion our Watermen, who were not us'd to venture so far out in their slender Boats, were fain to tug hard at their Oars.<sup>1</sup> The Savages stood out at first, and refus'd to [94] venture so far from Land, for they would rather have gone fifty Leagues about; but at last I over-perswaded 'em, by representing that I would have been very loth to venture my own Person, if I had not been sufficiently provided against all danger by an exact knowledge of the Winds and the Storms. The Calm continuing, we made the River of *Theonontaté* on the 25th. The next day there sprung up a Gale from the West-south-west, which kept us back for four or five days; but our stop was of no great advantage to us, for it rain'd so heavily, that we could not hunt. This Country is the ancient Seat of the *Hurons*, as it appears from the Name they give to their Nations in their own Language, *viz. Theonontateronons, i. e. the Inhabitants of Theonontate*. But after the *Iroquese* had, upon divers occasions, taken and defeated great numbers of 'em, the rest quitted the Country to avoid the like Fate.<sup>2</sup> We re-embark'd on the

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<sup>1</sup> Scadding (*Canadian Journal*, new series, xiii, p. 313) identifies the two islands as those now known as Fitzwilliam, and the Isle of Caves off Cape Hurd, both across the entrance of Georgian Bay. He identifies the River Theonontaté with the Maitland, in Huron County, Ontario. It was more probably the Nottawausaga, in Simcoe County, where the Tionnontaté had their earliest home. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> The Tionnontaté, called by the French Tobacco Huron or Petuns, were known to the earliest French explorers. Their ancient seat was in Simcoe County, but all the peninsula between Georgian Bay and lower Lake Huron was known as the "Country of the Ancient Hurons." This is the tribe among whom Marquette had

29th, and on the 1st of *July* arriv'd at Fort *St. Joseph*, where the Soldiers I had left waited for us with great Impatience. Having landed some Sacks Corn at the Fort, we set out again on the 3d of *July*, and pursued our Course with all diligence, in order to an early Appearance in the *Iroquesse* Country. We fail'd through the Streight or Neck, and stood to the South-side, of the Lake *Erie*; and being favour'd by the Weather, arriv'd on the 17th in the River of *Conde*, which I shall have occasion to take notice of in describing the Lakes of *Canada*.<sup>1</sup> Immediately, upon our Landing, the Savages fell to work in cutting down Trees, and making a Redoubt of Stakes, or Pales, for the Security of our Canows and Baggage, and for a safe Retreat to our selves in case of necessity.

The 20th they march'd, each Man being provided with a light Covering, a Bow, and some Arrows, (or else a Fufee) and a little Bag containing ten pound weight of the Flowr of the *Indian* Corn. [95] They thought it most convenient to keep to the Banks of the River, upon which the *Goyogoans* are

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his Mackinac mission of St. Ignace; they afterwards settled at Detroit, and were known to the English as Wyandots. On the Iroquois war which expelled them from their ancient home, see Parkman, *Jesuits*, pp. 403-410. On their later history and migrations, see Shea, in *Historical Magazine*, v, pp. 262-265. A remnant still exists on a reservation near Amherstburg, Ont. — ED.

<sup>1</sup> This name, "River de Conde," appears to be peculiar to Lahontan, from whom Pownall quotes it in his description of 1754 (*N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vi, p. 896). In our author's later description, and upon his map he exaggerates the size and length of the stream, which from its location must be either Mill Creek, Erie County, Pa., whence the portage ran to the sources of the Allegheny, or Chautauqua Creek, in New York, whence the usual portage to the lake of that name was about six miles. Scadding thinks it was Cattaraugus Creek; but the portage thence to the Allegheny was much longer than Lahontan describes, *post.* — ED.

wont to fish for Sturgeon; for that Fish, which is six foot in length, comes out of the Lakes in hot Weather, and swims up the Rivers.<sup>1</sup> They had resolv'd likewise, if they found the Country clear, to march up and surprize the Villages of the *Goyogoans*: but they were soon eas'd of that trouble; for they had not march'd two days when their Scouts descry'd three hundred *Iroquese*: and on the other hand the *Iroquese* spy'd them to such purpose, that the Scouts escap'd very narrowly, and had much ado to return to the body of the Party, which immediately betook themselves to flight. I was mightily surpris'd when I heard the Centinel of our Redoubt cry out, *Aux Armes, our Men are beaten and pursued*; but I was yet more surpriz'd when I saw the Fugitives run at full speed, when there was no body behind them. When they came up they were all silent for half an hour, pursuant to their Use and Wont; after which their Leader recounted to me the Particulars of the Adventure. I thought at first that their advanc'd Guards had mistook the number of the Enemies; for I knew that the *Outaouas* had not the Reputation of too much Courage: but the next day a Party of the *Iroquese* appear'd in sight of our Redoubt, which gave me occasion to believe that they were in the right of it. Nay, this Truth was afterwards confirmed by a certain Slave call'd *Cbaouanon*, who made his escape to the Redoubt, and assur'd me, that the *Iroquese* were not less than four hundred; to which he added, that they expected to be joyn'd by sixty more that had march'd some

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<sup>1</sup> Lahontan here correctly describes the habits of the lake sturgeon (*Acipenser rubicundus*) which spawns in the small streams. — ED.

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Months before to the Country of the *Oumamis*. He inform'd us farther, That while the Marquis *de Denonville* was concerting measures for a Peace with the five Nations, an *Englishman*, of the Name of *Aria*, accompany'd with some others, endeavour'd to dissuade them from Peace, by Orders [96] from the Governour of *New York*.<sup>1</sup> In the mean time the Savages having press'd me to assist at a Council of War, they propos'd to lie by for a fair Wind, and then to embark. They represented, that they design'd to sail to the end of the Lake, where they would infallibly light upon the sixty *Iroquesse* that I mention'd above; but withal, that they could not agree to set out in a Calm, because that after their quitting the Redoubt, and launching out, a contrary Wind might force 'em ashore, where their Throats might be cut if the Enemy pursu'd 'em. I reply'd, That 'twas then such fine Weather, that we had nothing to expect but Calms; that if we tarry'd longer in this Place, our Enemies would thereby gain time to make Canows in order to a Pursuit; that since the favourableness of the Wind was so uncertain, we ought to embark without loss of time; that we might fail in the Night, and sculk in the Day-time behind Rocks and Points of Land; and, that by this means the Enemy would be at a loss to know whether we stood to the South or to the North side of the Lake. The Savages made Answer, That 'twas true their tarrying might be every way prejudicial; but 'twas equally true, that my Expedient

<sup>1</sup> For the negotiations between Governors Denonville and Dongan, see *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, iii, pp. 438-564; ix, 388-404. By the "Englishman Aria," Lahontan doubtless intends Arnout Cornelisse Viele, whom Dongan employed as his messenger to the Iroquois. — ED.

was dangerous: However, they consented to embark along with us, and for that end gumm'd their Canows. We embark'd on the 24th at night, and the Weather being fair, clear, and calm, made a great deal of way that night, and the succeeding day. The next Evening we came to an Anchor, designing to sleep for three or four hours, but not to stir out of the Canows. About Midnight we weigh'd our little wooden Anchors, and one half of the Men row'd while the other was at rest. Thus did we continue to steer with a great deal of Precaution and Care, rowing all night, and lying by all day.

July 28. when we were lying almost all asleep in a Creek of a little Island, the Watch descrying some [97] Canows that made towards us, wak'd some Savages that had gone a-shore to sleep the more conveniently. The Noise having alarm'd us all, we presently made our selves ready to get in head of these Canows; but at the same time, tho' we were but half a League off, we could not distinguish who they were, by reason that the Sun-beams falling perpendicularly, made the Surface of the Water look like a Looking-glass. Indeed there being but two of 'em, we reckon'd they were mann'd with *Iroquese*, and that each of 'em contain'd at least twenty Men: upon which suspicion, the Leader of the *Sauteurs* offered to go a-shore with his Men, and post himself at the Entry of a Wood, from whence he would softly follow the Canows without being discover'd, till such time as we forc'd 'em a-shore. At the same time he propos'd that the *Outaouas* and my Detachment should suffer 'em to be within a Musket-shot of the Island before we discover'd our selves, or offer'd to give 'em chase, upon the

apprehension that if we follow'd 'em clofer, they would be fo far from getting on fhore, that they would fight as desperate, and choofe rather to be kill'd or drown'd than to be taken. This Propofal was lik'd, and every thing was manag'd accordingly. As foon as our unknown Enemy perceiv'd us, they made the Shore with all imaginable Precipitation; and juft when they were going to knock their Prifoners on the Head, the *Sauteurs* fell upon 'em, but mifs'd of their aim in taking 'em all alive; for they fought to the laft gasp, like Men that knew no Medium betwixt Conqueft and Death. *Una falus viētis nullam fperare salutem.* This Engagement happen'd while we landed: however, the *Sauteurs* came off with Honour, for they loft only four Men, and of twenty *Iroquefe* they kill'd three, wounded five, and took the reft Prifoners, fo that not one of 'em escap'd. The *Iroquefe* had along with them eighteen Slaves of the *Oumamis*, who were all wounded, and feven big-belly'd [98] Women, from whom we had Intelligence that the reft of their Party were then upon their Return by Land upon the Banks of the Lake, having thirty four Prifoners, of both Sexes; and that they could not then be far off. When this Intelligence was laid before us, the *Outaouas* were of the opinion that we fhould reft fatisfied with the Feats we had done, upon the Plea that the above-mention'd four hundred *Iroquefe* would certainly get before us. On the other hand, the *Sauteurs* maintain'd that they had rather perifh than fail to attempt the Refcue of thefe Prifoners, and the Defeat of the whole Party; and that if no body would fecond 'em, they would make the Attempt by themfelves. The Bravery of this Refolution

oblig'd me to encourage and egg on the *Outaouas*. I remonstrated to 'em, that in regard the *Sauteurs* ingrofs'd the Glory of the former Action, they had more reason than we to decline the risque of a second Engagement: that if we refus'd to back 'em, our Cowardice would cover us with everlasting Infamy: and, that in order to render the Attack more secure, we ought to use a speedy Precaution in finding out some Point or Elbow of Land where our Canows, our Baggage, and our Prisoners might be lodg'd safe. The *Outaouas* had a great deal of Reluctancy to the matter; however, after consulting among themselves, they comply'd with the Proposal, more for Shame, than out of true Courage. Having laid down that joint Resolution, we made up a little fort of a Fence in seven or eight hours, and then sent out Scouts on all hands, while the main Body was kept in readiness to march upon the first Alarm.

*August 4.* two of our Spies return'd upon full speed, to acquaint us that the *Iroquese* were not above three Leagues off, and that they advanc'd towards us; and withal, that upon the Road there was a little Brook, upon which an Ambuscado might be conveniently laid. This Advice animated our Savages so much, [99] that they run immediately to take Possession of that Advantageous Post: but they knew not how to make the right use of it. The *Outaouas* were too hafty in firing; and by shooting at too great a distance, gave all the Enemies an opportunity of making their Escape, abating for ten or twelve whose Heads were brought into the little Fort where I stay'd. The Slaves indeed were all retaken, and so rescued from the Cruelty of these Tygers; which encourag'd us to

rest satisfied. When the Expedition was over, we stow'd these poor Wretches in our Canows, and steer'd with all Expedition to the Streight or Neck of the Lake of *Huron*, which we made on the 13th. We enjoy'd a great deal of Pleasure in stemming the Current of that Streight; the Islands of which, that I mention'd above, were cover'd with Roe bucks. This opportunity we did not flight; nor did we grudge our stopping upon these Islands for eight days; during which time we were busied in Hunting, and refresh'd our selves with plenty of excellent Fruit that was fully ripe. Here the wounded and retaken Prisoners had an opportunity of resting, and of drinking the Broth of several sorts of Meat; and we had time to broil as much Meat as we could stow in our Canows, not to mention the great numbers of Turkeys that we were oblig'd to eat upon the spot, for fear that the heat of the Season would spoil 'em.

In that space of time the poor wounded Savages were carefully purg'd with such Roots as the *Americans* are well vers'd in; which I mean to explain to you in its proper time and place; and they wanted not good Restoratives of Jelly-broth. The 24th we re-embark'd, and arriv'd at Night at Fort *St. Joseph*, where I found a Party of eighty *Oumamis* commanded by one *Michitonka*, who being lately return'd from *Niagara*, expected my Arrival with the utmost impatience. When I landed, I was surpris'd to see the [100] Fort cramm'd with Savages; but on the other hand, they were equally astonish'd to find in our Company their Country-men, to whose hard Fortune they had been altogether Strangers.

The joyful Meeting fill'd the Air with Acclamations, and Panegyricks rung all about to an extravagant degree. I wish, Sir, you had been there to partake of the Pleasure of so fine a Show: had you been present, you would have join'd with me in owning that all our *French* Rhetorick cannot reach such pithy and significant Figures, especially upon the score of *Hyperbole's*, as made up the bulk of the Harangues and Songs that these poor People utter'd with Rapture and Transport. *Michitonka* acquainted me, that after he went to the Fort of *Niagara*, with a Design to make some Expedition into the Country of the *Tsonontouans*, he found that the *Scurvey* had made such a terrible havock in that Fort, that it had swept off the Commander, and all the Soldiers, bating twelve, who had the good luck to get over it, as well as Mr. *de Bergeres*, who by the advantage of a hale Constitution had stemm'd the raging Violence of that Distemper.<sup>1</sup> He inform'd me farther, That Mr. *Bergeres* having resolv'd to set out with his twelve Men for the Fort of *Frontenac*, had desir'd of him a Reinforcement of some young *Oumamis*, which was granted him; that after Mr. *Bergeres* had embark'd, himself march'd over Land to the Country of the *Onnontagues*, where he rejoin'd the Reinforcement he had granted to Mr. *de Bergeres*, and understood from them, that during the Winter the *Scurvey* had carried off as many Soldiers at Fort *Frontenac* as at *Niagara*; and, that Mr. *de Denonville* was negotiating a Peace with the *Iroquese*.

The Governour of Fort *Frontenac* had requested *Michitonka*

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<sup>1</sup> For the official report of this disaster, and the abandonment of the fort at *Niagara*, see *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, pp. 386-388. — ED.

to engage in no Enterprife, and to return home with his Men; upon which that Leader being in full March homeward, was attack'd by three hundred [101] *Onnontagues*, whom he durst not engage otherwife than in a running Fight, by which he loft four Men. Being inform'd of all thefe Circumftances, I confulted with the three different Nations that were then pofted in my Fort. After a mature Reflection upon the Intelligence that was laid before 'em, they came to this Refolution; That fince the Marquis *de Denonville* had a mind to clap up a Peace, and the Fort of *Niagara* was abdicated, the Fort I then commanded would be of no ufe; that fince I had neither Provisions nor Ammunition for above two Months, I fhould be oblig'd at the end of thefe two Months to retreat to the Place from whence I now write; that at that time of the Year our Navigation would be uneafie and dangerous; that in regard I lay under an indifpenfible neceffity of making my Retreat, 'twas of no great moment whether I march'd off two Months fooner or later; and, in fine, that fince I had receiv'd no frefh Orders, nor no Succors, 'twas my Bufinefs to go off along with them. This Refolution, which was a fufficient Argument to fway me, afforded matter of joy to the Soldiers, who were afraid of being oblig'd to a more rigorous courfe of Abftinence in that Poft than they had formerly undergone; for the meafures of a critical Abftinence do not fit well upon a Soldiers Stomach. In fine, purfuant to our joint Refolution, we fet fire to the Fort on the 27th, and embarked that fame day, and keeping clofe to the South fhore of the Lake that I took notice of in my laft, arriv'd here on the 10th of *September*.



The *Oumamis* march'd over Land to their own Country, and carry'd with 'em the Wounded, who were then in a condition to march.

Upon my Arrival in this Place, I found here Mr. *de la Durantay*, whom Mr. *Denonville* has invest'd with the Commission of Commander of the *Coueurs de Bois* that trade upon the Lakes, and in the Southern Countries of *Canada*. The Governour has sent me [102] Orders to return to the Colony if the Season and other Circumstances permit; or to tarry here till the Spring if I foresee unsurmountable Difficulties in the Passage. In the mean time he has sent me Effects to answer the Pay of my Detachment, and to subsist 'em in the Winter. These Orders would be extream acceptable to me, if I could but contrive how to return to the Colony; but that seems to be absolutely impossible, and both the *French* and the Savages agree that it is so. There are in that Passage so many Waterfalls, Cataracts, and Places where there's a necessity of tedious Land-carriages, that I dare not run such Hazards with my Soldiers, who cannot work the Boats but upon stagnating Water. Upon that consideration I have thought it more proper to halt here till the next Year; at which time I design to take the Advantage of the Company of some *Frenchmen* and Savages, that promise to take into each of their Canows one of my Men. In the mean time, I am upon the point of undertaking another Voyage, for I cannot mew my self up here all this Winter. I design to make the best use of my time, and to travel through the Southern Countries that I have so

often heard of, having engag'd four or five good Huntsmen of the *Outaouas* to go along with me.

The Party of the *Hurons* that I mention'd in the beginning of my Letter, return'd hither two Months ago, and brought with 'em an *Iroquoise* Slave, whom their Leader presented to Mr. *de Iuchereau*, the late Colonel of the *Coueurs de Bois* and whom that Colonel order'd to be immediately shot. The crafty Leader acted upon that occasion a very cunning and malicious part, the fatal Consequences of which I easily foresee: He intrusted no body with the Secret but my self; for he is my true Friend, and he knows that I am his. However, I must go no farther upon this matter, lest my Letter should be intercepted. Tho' after all, if the Blow were not already given, [103] or if 'twere possible to remedy it, my Friendship should not hinder me from acquainting Mr. *de Denonville* with the Intrigue, that he might get clear of it as well as he could. If it pleases God to allow me a safe Return to *France*, I shall tell you the Story by word of mouth.

I understand by your last, that the King has preferr'd his Almoner, the Abbot of *St. Valiers*, to the Bishoprick of *Quebec*; and that this Bishop was consecrated in *St. Sulpice's* Church.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Abbé de St. Vallier had been Bishop Laval's vicar-apostolic since 1685; but at the desire of the latter was consecrated bishop, Jan. 25, 1688. Jean Baptiste de la Croix Chevrère, known as St. Vallier from his benefice, was a native of Grenoble (1653) who had served as chaplain of Louis XIV. He was second bishop of Quebec, retaining the office until his death (1727). During his long term of service, he was frequently absent in France (1694-97); again (1700-04), when he was captured by the English on his return voyage, and kept a prisoner five years. He did not finally reach Quebec until 1713. For his portrait see *Jes. Rel.*, lxiv, frontispiece. — Ed.

This piece of News would be very welcome to me, if I thought he would be less rigid than Mr. *de Laval*, his Predecessor. But what likelihood is there that the new Bishop will be of a tractable temper? If 'tis true that he has refus'd other good Bishopricks, he must be as scrupulous as the Monk *Dracontius*, that St. *Athanasius* censures for not accepting of a Presentation to a Bishoprick that was offer'd him. In fine, if he is of that scrupulous Temper, his critical Strictness will scarce go down in this Country; for the People are already tyr'd out with his Predecessor's Excommunications.

*I am,*

*SIR,*

*Yours, &c.*

## [104] LETTER XVI.

Dated at *Missilimakinac*, May 28. 1689.

*Containing an Account of the Author's Departure from, and Return to, Missilimakinac. A Description of the Bay of Puants, and its Villages. An ample Description of the Beavers; follow'd by the Journal of a remarkable Voyage upon the Long River, and a Map of the adjacent Country.*

SIR,

THANK God, I am now return'd from my Voyage upon the *Long River*, which falls into the River of *Mississipi*. I would willingly have trac'd it up to its Source, if several Obstacles had not stood in my way. I fet out from hence the 24th of *Sept.* accompany'd with my own Detachment, and the five Huntsmen I mention'd in my last; who indeed did me a great deal of Service. All the Soldiers were provided with new Canows loaded with Provisions and Ammunition, and such Commodities as are proper for the Savages. The Wind, which stood then in the North, wafted me in three days to the Bay of *Pouteouatamis*, that lay forty Leagues off. The mouth of that Bay is in a manner choak'd with Isles, and the Bay it self is ten Leagues broad, and twenty five Leagues long.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Now Green Bay, Wis., usually called by the French Baye des Puants; see p. 146, note 2, *ante*. Charlevoix says that the Potawatomi formerly inhabited these islands at the mouth of the bay, after being driven by the Iroquois from their seats in lower Michigan. — Ed.

The 29th we came to a little deep fort of a River, which difembogues at a place where the Water of the Lake fwells three foot high in twelve hours, and decreafes as much in the fame compafs of time. Our tarrying there three or four days gave me an opportunity of making this Remark.<sup>1</sup> The Villages of the *Sakis*, the *Pouteouatamis*, and fome *Malominis*, are [105] feated on the fide of that River, and the Jefuits have a Houfe or College built upon it.<sup>2</sup> This is a place of great Trade for Skins and *Indian* Corn, which thefe Savages fell to the *Coureurs de Bois*, as they come and go, it being the neareft and moft convenient Paffage to the River of *Missifipi*. The Soil of this Country is fo fertile, that it produces (in a manner without Agriculture) our *European* Corn, Peafe, Beans, and feveral other Fruits that are not known in *France*. As foon as I landed, the Warriours of thefe three Nations came by turns to my Apartment, to regale me with the *Calumet-Dance*, and with the *Captains-Dance*; the former being a fignification of Peace and Friendship, and the latter of Refpect

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<sup>1</sup> The Fox River, first called by the French *Rivière des Puants*, later *Rivière des Rénards* (Foxes) from the tribe encountered on its banks. The Jesuits entitled it *St. Francis River*, but the name did not persist. The Jesuits also remarked the tides in the bay. See *Jes. Rel.*, lvi, pp. 137-139; lvii, pp. 301-305; lx, pp. 205-207. —ED.

<sup>2</sup> The Sauk, Potawatomi, and Menominee tribes were all of Algonquian stock, and had their habitat about the mouth of the Fox, although the latter tribe were more often upon the river of the same name.

The Jesuit mission of *St. Francis Xavier* was founded on the shores of *Green Bay* by Father *Claude Allouez* in 1669; two years later a chapel was built upon the site of the present city of *De Pere*. In 1899 the citizens of that place, inspired thereto by the *Wisconsin Historical Society*, erected a monument near the site of this pioneer missionary station. See *Wis. His. Soc. Proc.*, 1899, p. 105. —ED.

and Esteem.<sup>1</sup> I return'd the Compliment with a Present of some Rolls of *Brazil* Tobacco, which they value mightily, and some strings of *Venice* Beads, with which they embroider their Coats. Next Morning I was invited to a Feast with one of the three Nations; and after having sent to 'em some Dishes and Plates, pursuant to the Custom of the Country, I went accordingly about Noon. They began with congratulating my Arrival, and after I had return'd them thanks, fell a singing and dancing one after another, in a particular manner, of which you may expect a circumstantial account when I have more leisure. The Singing and Dancing lasted for two hours, being season'd with Acclamations of Joy and Jest, which make up part of their ridiculous Musick. After that the Slaves came to serve,<sup>2</sup> and all the Company sat down after the *Eastern* fashion, every one being provided with his Mefs, just as our Monks are in the Monastery-Halls.

First of all four Platters were set down before me, in the first of which there were two white Fish only boil'd in Water; in the second the Tongue and Breast of a Roe-buck boil'd; in the third two Woodhens, the hind Feet or Trotters of a Bear, and [106] the Tail of a Beaver, all roasted; and the fourth contain'd a large quantity of Broth made of several sorts of

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<sup>1</sup> For the calumet dance see Marquette's detailed description in *Jes. Rel.*, lix, pp. 129-137. In its modern form it is described in U. S. Bur. of Ethnol. *Report*, 1881-82, pp. 276-282. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Slavery among the Indians was due entirely to prisoners taken in war. It was a mild form, slaves being usually treated as members of the family, and having the hope of exchange or ransom by their own tribe. From the Indians it spread to the French in Illinois, and was authorized by edict in 1709. See Lafontaine, "De l'esclavage en Canada," in Montreal Historical Society *Memoires*, 1858. — ED.

Meat. For Drink they gave me a very pleasant Liquor, which was nothing but a Syrrup of Maple beat up with Water ; but of this more elsewhere. The Feast lasted two Hours ; after which I intreated one of the Grandees to sing for me ; for in all the Ceremonies made use of among the Savages, 'tis customary to imploy another to act for 'em. I made this Grandee a Present of some pieces of Tobacco, in order to oblige him to act my part till Night. Next day, and the day after, I was oblig'd to go to the Feasts of the other two Nations, who observ'd the same Formalities. The most curious thing I saw in the Villages, was ten or twelve tame Beavers, that went and came like Dogs from the Rivers to the Cottages, without stragling out of the Road. I ask'd the Savages if these Animals could live out of the Water ; and receiv'd this answer, that they could live ashoar as well as Dogs, and that they had kept some of 'em above a year, without suffering them to go near the Rivers : From whence I conclude, that the *Casuiſts* are out in not ranging Ducks, Geese, and Teals, in the number of Amphibious Animals, as the Naturalists are wont to do. I had heard the same story from several *Americans* before ; but being apprehensive that there were different Species of Beavers, I had a mind to be better inform'd : And indeed there is a particular kind of 'em, which the Savages call the *Terrestrial*, or Land-Beaver ; but at the same time they tell you, these are of a different Species from the Amphibious sort ; for they make Holes or Dens in the Earth, like Rabbits or Foxes, and never go near the Water unless it be to drink. They are likewise call'd by the Savages, the lazy or idle kind, as being

expell'd by the other Beavers from the Kennels in which these Animals are lodg'd, to the [107] number of 80. These Kennels I mean to describe afterwards; in the mean time I only take occasion to acquaint you, that the idle sort being unwilling to work, are expell'd by the others, just as Wasps are by Bees; and are so teas'd by 'em, that they are forc'd to quit the Kennels, which the better and more industrious Race huddles up to themselves in the Fens. This supine Beaver resembles the other sort in its Figure, excepting that the Hair is rub'd off the Back and the Belly, which is occasion'd by their rubbing against the Earth when they return to, or stir out from their Holes.<sup>1</sup>

The Writers of Natural History are very much out, in fancying that the Beavers cut off their own Testicles, when pursued by the Huntsmen; for that which the Physicians call *Castoreum*, is not lodg'd in the Testicles, but in a certain Bag that Nature seems to have form'd on purpose for these Animals, and this Bag they make use of to clear their Teeth, after the biting of some gummy Shrub. But supposing the Testicles to be the proper Receptacle of the Castor, we must still conceive that 'tis impossible for a Beaver to pull out his Testicles, without rending the Nerves of the Groin, in which they are seated just by the Sharebone. 'Tis manifest that *Eliau* and several other Naturalists, were scarce acquainted with Beaver-hunting; for had they known any thing of the matter, they

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<sup>1</sup> The beaver is easily domesticated, and becomes as tame as a kitten. Stories of idle beavers are numerous, but apochryphal; they arise from some disorder in the form of a parasite, which occasionally attacks the animal. See Martin, *Castorologia, or the Canadian Beaver* (London and Montreal, 1892), pp. 157, 168, 233. — ED.



would never have talk'd of the purfuing of thefe Animals, which never go from the fide of the Pond where their Kennels are built; and which dive under water upon the leaft noife, and return to their Dens when the danger is over. If thefe Creatures were but fenfible of the reafon for which War is declar'd againft 'em, they would flea themfelves alive; for 'tis their Skin only that the Huntsmen want, the value of the Caftor being nothing in comparifon with that. A great Beaver is twenty fix Inches long, from [108] the hind-Head, to the root of the Tail. 'Tis about three Foot and eight Inches round, its Head is feven Inches long, and fix broad; its Tail is fourteen Inches long, and fix broad, and about the middle it has the thicknefs of an Inch and two lines. The figure of the Tail is Oval; the Scale with which 'tis cover'd, and which performs the Office of what the Phyficians call the *Epidermis* or Scarf-skin, is an irregular Hexagon. The Beaver carries upon its Tail the Clay, the Earth and other Materials of which they make their Banks and Kennels, or Hutts, by a wonderful Inftinct. Its Ears are fhort, round and hollow; its Legs are five Inches long, its Feet fix Inches and eight Lines, and its Paws are three Inches and a half from the Heel to the end of the great Toe. Its Paws are form'd much like a Man's Hand, and they make ufe of 'em in feeding, as Apes do. The five Toes are joyn'd like thofe of a Duck, with a Membrane of a Slate colour. Its Eyes are of the leffer fize, in proportion to the bulk of its Body, and bear the figure of a Rats Eyes. Before its Muzzle there are four Fore-Teeth or Cutters, viz.

two in each Jaw, as in a Rabbet, besides which it has sixteen Grinders, that is, eight in the upper, and as many in the lower Mandible. The Cutters are above an Inch long, and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an Inch broad, being very strong and sharp like a Cutlas; for a Beaver assisted by its Associates, (if I may so call its fellow Beavers) cuts down Trees as big as a Hoghead; which I could never have believ'd, if I had not observ'd with my own Eyes, above twenty Trunks of Trees cut down in that fashion. A Beaver has two lays of Hair; one is long, and of a shining black colour, with a grain as big as that of Mans Hair; the other is fine and smooth, and in Winter fifteen lines long: In a word, the last is the finest Down in the World. The Skin of such a Beaver as I have now describ'd, will be two pound weight, but the [109] price varies according to the goodness. In Winter and Autumn the Flesh of a Beaver eats very well, if it be roasted. Thus, Sir, I have presented you with an exact Description of these reputed Amphibious Animals which make such Structures, that all the Art of Man can scarce equal. Upon another occasion perhaps I may give you a circumstantial Account of their wonderful Structure, which I decline at present, because the Digression would be too tedious.<sup>1</sup>

To return to my Voyage. After our arrival in the Bay of *Pouteouatamis*, we bid adieu to the Navigation upon the Lakes of *Canada*; and setting out *September* 30, arriv'd *October* 2. at the foot of the fall of *Kakalin*, after stemming some little Cur-

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<sup>1</sup> Lahontan's description of the beaver is not inaccurate, and shows habits of keen observation. For full description see Martin, *op. cit.* — ED.

rents in the River of *Puants*.<sup>1</sup> The next day we accomplish'd the small Land-carriage, and on the 5<sup>th</sup> arriv'd before the Village of *Kikapous*, in the Neighbourhood of which I incamp'd the next day, in order to receive Intelligence. That Village stands upon the brink of a little Lake, in which the Savages fish great quantities of Pikes and Gudgeons.<sup>2</sup> I found only thirty or forty Men fit for War in the place, for the rest were gone a Beaver-hunting some days before. The 7<sup>th</sup> I reimbarq'd, and rowing hard made in the Evening the little Lake of *Malominis*, where we kill'd Bucks and Bustards enough for Supper. We went ashore that Night, and built Hutts for our selves upon a point of Land that shoots out; by break of day I went in a Canow to the Village, and after an hours Conference with some of the Savages, presented 'em with two Rolls of Tobacco, and they by way of Acknowledgment, made me a present of two or three Sacks of Oatmeal: For the fides of

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<sup>1</sup> The Grand Kakaling, twenty-one miles from the mouth of Fox River, was a series of rapids, the river falling fifty-two feet in the course of a mile. The name signified "the fishing ground for pickerel." The modern town of Kaukauna is on the river bank at this place. See Tanner, "Early Kaukauna" in *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1899, pp. 212-217. The other rapids of Fox River, ascending from the mouth, were those at De Pere, Little Kakalin (now called Little Rapids), the Croche (above Wrightstown), Grand Kakalin (at Kaukauna), Little Chute (still so named), the Cedars (at Kimberly), Grand Chute (at Appleton), and Winnebago Rapids (at Neenah). See *Jes. Rel.*, liv, p. 306. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> The Kickapoo were an Algonquian tribe closely associated with the Mascoutin. They were first encountered in Wisconsin, but drifted over various portions of Michigan and Illinois, finally crossing the Mississippi (about 1725), and making their homes in Iowa. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, xvii, index. A remnant of this tribe still exists upon reservations in Kansas and Oklahoma. The village mentioned here by Lahontan is not described by his contemporaries. It would seem to have been on Lake Winnebago, between Neenah and Oshkosh. — Ed.

the Lake are cover'd with a fort of Oats, which grows in tufts with a tall Stalk, and of which the Savages reap plentiful Crops.<sup>1</sup> The 9<sup>th</sup> I arriv'd at the foot of *Outagamis* Fort, where I found but [110] few People; however, they gave me a very kind Reception, for after dancing the *Calumet* before the Door of my Hutt, they made me a Present of Venison and Fish. Next day they convey'd me up the River, to the place where their folks were hunting the Beavers. The 11<sup>th</sup> we imbarq'd, and landed the 13<sup>th</sup> upon the shoar of a little Lake, where the Head of that Nation resided.<sup>2</sup> After we had rear'd up our Hutts, that General gave me a Visit, and inquir'd which way I intended to move. I made answer, that I was so far from designing to march toward the *Nadouessious* his Enemies, that I should not come near 'em by 100 Leagues<sup>3</sup>; and to con-

<sup>1</sup> The "Lake of Malhominis" was probably the present Grand Lake Butte des Morts, where, as now, grew great expanses of wild rice or oats. The French called the Menominee "Folle Avoines," the name for this plant (*Zizania aquatica*) which formed a staple food for Indians in the Northwest. See Jenks, "Wild-rice Gatherers of the Upper Lakes," in U. S. Bur. of Ethnol. *Report*, No. 19. Father Allouez mentioned the wild rice in this lake on his journey of 1670. See *Jes. Rel.*, liv, pp. 217-219, 307. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> The location of the Outagami or Fox Indian villages has been much discussed. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 39. The most that can be said is, that they were probably in Waupaca County, on Wolf River, or some of its affluents.

The Outagami or Fox (Fr., Rénard) Indians were of Algonquian stock, first encountered in Wisconsin, which was their permanent home until driven by the French across the Mississippi, about the middle of the eighteenth century. Their wars upon the French (1712-47) undermined the empire of the latter in the Northwest. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii. In 1730 they amalgamated with the Sauk. Remnants of the Sauk and Fox tribes are still extant in Iowa, Nebraska, and Oklahoma. — ED.

<sup>3</sup> Nadouessioux, usually abbreviated to Sioux, was the name given by the Algonquian tribes to the great Western stock, who called themselves Dakota. The term Nadouessioux meant "snake-like ones," or "enemy." At this time they were hostile

firm the innocence of my Intentions, I pray'd him to fend six Warriours to accompany me to the long River, which I design'd to trace up to its Source. He reply'd that he was extream glad to find that I carry'd neither Arms nor Cloaths to the *Nadouessious*; that he saw I had not the equipage of a *Coureur de Bois*, but that on the contrary, I had some discovery in my view. At the same time he caution'd me not to venture too far up that Noble River, by reason of the multitudes of People that I would find there, though they have no stomach for War: He mean'd, that some numerous Party might surprize me in the Night-time. In the mean time, instead of the six Warriours that I desir'd, he gave me ten, who understood the Lingua, and knew the Country of the *Eokoros*, with whom his Nation had maintain'd a Peace of twenty years standing. I stay'd two days with this General, during which time he regal'd me nobly, and walk'd about with me to give me the Satisfaction of observing the disposure of the Cottages of the Beaver-hunters; a description of which, you may expect in another place; I presented him with a Fufee, twelve Flint-stones, two pound of Powder, four pound of Ball, and a little Axe, and I gave each of his two Sons a [III] great Coat, and a Roll of *Brasil* Tobacco. Two of the ten Warriours that he gave me, could speak the Language of the *Outaouas*, which I was well pleas'd with; not that I was a stranger to their own Language, for between that and the *Algonkin* there is no great difference,

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to the Fox, but in their eighteenth-century wars upon the French were their allies. For information concerning the Siouan people, see references in Hennepin, *New Discovery*, p. 225, note.—ED.

but in regard that there were several words that puzzled me. My four *Outaouas* were transported with this little Reinforcement, and were then so encouraged, that they told me above four times, that we might venture safely so far as the Plantation of the Sun. I embarked with this small Guard the 16<sup>th</sup> about Noon, and arriv'd that Night at the Land-carriage of *Ouisconfinc*, which we finish'd in two days, that is, we left the River of *Puants*, and transported our Canows and Baggage to the River *Ouisconfinc*, which is not above three quarters of a League distant, or thereabouts.<sup>1</sup> I shall say nothing of the River we left, but that 'twas Muddy, full of Shelves, and inclosed with a steep Coast, Marshes, and frightful Rocks.

The 19<sup>th</sup> we embarqu'd upon the River *Ouisconfinc*, and being favour'd by a slack Current, arriv'd in four days at the place, where it empties it self into the River *Mississipi*, which is about half a League broad in that part. The force of the Current, and the breadth of that River, is much the same as that of the *Loire*. It lies North-East, and South-West; and its sides are adorn'd with Meadows, lofty Trees and Firs. I observ'd but two Islands upon it, though there may be more,

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<sup>1</sup> Lahontan certainly allows too little time for the passage from the Outagami village to the Fox-Wisconsin portage — not less than 100 miles, following the meanderings of the river.

The Fox-Wisconsin portage was a noted place in the early history of Western discovery. Apparently Radisson and Groseilliers were (1655) the first white men to traverse it. Marquette describes it in 1672. A contemporary writer (1682) says it was "through an oak grove and a flooded meadow." — *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 106. The portage was about a mile in length; later, the French built a corduroy road through the swamp, and established a rude wagon carriage for their batteaux. — *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, pp. 221, 222. A government ship canal now spans the distance. — *Ed.*

which the darknefs of the Night hid from us as we came down.<sup>1</sup> The 23<sup>d</sup> we landed upon an Iſland in the River *Miſſiſſipi*, over againſt the River I ſpoke of but now, and were in hopes to find ſome wild Goats there, but had the ill fortune to find none. The day after we croſt to t'other ſide of the River, founding it every where, as we had done the day before, and found nine foot water in the ſhalloweſt place. The [112] 2<sup>d</sup> of *November* we made the Mouth of the *Long River*, having firſt ſtem'd ſeveral rapid Currents of that River, though 'twas then at loweſt Ebb. In this little paſſage we kill'd ſeveral wild Beeves which we broil'd, and catch'd ſeveral large Dabs. On

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<sup>1</sup> The diſtance from the portage to the mouth of the Wiſconſin is 145 miles. Its ſtage of water was in Lahontan's time doubtleſs much higher than now, although early canoeiſts ſpeak of being embarraſſed by its numerous ſhifting ſand-bars. Until the depletion of the great pine forests in north-central Wiſconſin, it was an important lumbering ſtream. From the time of the erection of Wiſconſin Territory (1836) until about 1890 there was much popular agitation in favor of dredging both the Fox and Wiſconſin, in order to connect Lake Michigan with Miſſiſſippi River—in other words, adapting what was, in the French regime, the moſt popular fur-trade route between the great lakes and the great river, to the requirements of modern ſteam navigation. Large ſums of money have been ſpent by the federal government in ſurveys on the ſprawling and ſand-bar-ridden Wiſconſin, and in a lockage ſystem on the lower Fox; but it has at laſt come to be recognized by moſt engineers that the route is impracticable without an unwarranted expenditure of public funds. The Fox as far up as Lake Winnebago has a ſtrong current, and its rapids are the baſis of the preſent federal-built water powers; the upper Fox is ſluggiſh, ſhallow, and frequently fringed with wild-rice ſwamps. There is to-day occaſional navigation by flat-bottomed ſteamers as far as Berlin, but only ſmall launches can proceed to the portage. On the Wiſconſin, which in ſpring and autumn overflows to the width of a mile or more, ſteam craft are ſeldom ſeen; the paſſage of a ſmall launch, perhaps once or twice a ſeaſon, arousing general curioſity. Lahontan's deſcription, although brief, is not inexact, and appears to be that of one who had ſeen the alternating cliffs and meadows which border the Wiſconſin, one of the moſt beautiful of Western ſtreams. See chapters on the Fox-Wiſconſin waterway in Thwaites, *Down Historic Waterways* (Chicago, new ed., 1903).—Ed.

the 3<sup>d</sup> we enter'd the Mouth of the *Long River*, which looks like a Lake full of Bull-rushes ; we found in the middle of it a narrow Channel, upon which we steer'd till Night, and then lay by to sleep in our Canows. In the Morning I enquir'd of my ten *Outagamis*, if we had far to fail before we were clear of the Rushes, and receiv'd this answer, that they had never been in the Mouth of that River before, though at the same time they assur'd me, that about twenty Leagues higher, the Banks of it were clad with Woods and Meadows. But after all we did not fail so far, for about ten a Clock next Morning the River came pretty narrow, and the Shoar was cover'd with lofty Trees ; and after continuing our course the rest of that day, we had a prospect of Meadows now and then. That same Night we landed at a point of Land, with a design to dress our broil'd Meat, for at that time we had none fresh. The next day we stop'd at the first Island we saw, in which we found neither Man nor Beast ; and the Evening drawing near, I was unwilling to venture far into it, so we e'en contented our selves with the catching of some sorry Fish. The 6<sup>th</sup> a gentle Gale sprung up, which wafted us to another Island about 12 Leagues higher, where we landed. Our passage to this place was very quick, notwithstanding the great calm that always prevails upon this River, which I take to be the least rapid River in the World. But the quickness of the passage was not the only surprisal, for I was amaz'd that I saw no Harts, nor Bucks, nor Turkeys, having met with 'em all along in the other parts of my Discovery. The 7<sup>th</sup> the same Wind drove us [113] to a third Island, that lay ten or twelve Leagues off the former,



which we quitted in the Morning. In this third Island our Savages kill'd thirty or forty Pheasants, which I was not ill pleas'd with.

The 8<sup>th</sup> the Wind proving unserviceable to us, by reason that 'twas intercepted by Hills cover'd with Firs, we ply'd our Oars; and about two in the Afternoon, descry'd on the left Hand large Meadows, and some Hutts at the distance of a quarter of a League from the River. Upon this Discovery, our Savages and ten of the Soldiers jump'd upon the shoar, and directed their course to the Houses, where they found fifty or sixty Huntsmen prepar'd to receive 'em, with their Bows and Arrows. As soon as the Huntsmen heard the voice of the *Outagamis*, they threw down their Arms, and presented the Company with some Deer that they had just kill'd, which they likewise help'd to carry to my Canows. The Benefactors were some of the *Eokoros*, who had left their Villages, and come thither to hunt. I presented 'em, more out of Policy, than Acknowledgment, with Tobacco, Knives and Needles, which they could not but admire. Upon this, they repair'd with expedition to their Villages, and gave their Associates to understand, what a good sort of People they had met with; which had so much influence, that the next day towards the Evening, there appear'd upon the River side above two thousand Savages, who fell a dancing as soon as they descry'd us. Thereupon, our *Outagamis* went ashoar, and after a short Conference, some of the principal Savages imbarqu'd on board of our Canows, and so we all steer'd to the chief Village, which we did not reach till Midnight. I order'd our Hutts to be made

up on a point of Land near a little River, at the distance of a quarter of a League from the Village. Though the Savages prefs'd me extreamly to lodge in one of their Villages, yet none [114] went with 'em but the *Outagamis*, and the four *Outaouas*, who at the same time caution'd the Savages not to approach to our Camp in the Night-time. Next day I allow'd my Soldiers to refresh and rest themselves; and went my self to visit the Grandees of this Nation to whom I gave Presents of Knives, Cissars, Needles, and Tobacco. They gave me to understand, that they were infinitely well pleas'd with our arrival in their Country, for that they had heard the Savages of other Nations speak very honourably of the *French*. I took leave of 'em on the 12th, and set out with a Convoy of five or six hundred Savages, who march'd upon the shoar, keeping pace with our Canows. We pass'd by another Village that lay to the right Hand, and stop'd at a third Village that was five Leagues distant from the first, but did not disembark: For all that I design'd, was to make a Present to the leading Men of the Village, from whom I receiv'd more *Indian* Corn, and broil'd or dry'd Meat, than I had occasion for. In fine, I pass'd from Village to Village without stopping, unless it were to incamp all Night, or to present the Savages with some Trinkets; and so steer'd on to the last Village, with a design to get some Intelligence. As soon as we arriv'd at the end of this Village, the Great Governour, who indeed was a venerable old Gentleman, sent out Hunters to bring us good Cheer. He inform'd me, that sixty Leagues higher I should meet with the Nation of the *Essanapes*, who wag'd War with him; that if

it had not been for their being at War, he would have given me a Convoy to their Country; that, however he mean'd to give up to me fix Slaves of that Country, which I might carry home, and make use of as I saw occasion; and that in failing up the River, I had nothing to fear, but the being surpriz'd in the Night-time. In fine, after he had instructed me in several very useful Circumstances, I immediately [115] made every thing ready for my Departure.

The Commanders of this People acquainted me, that they had twelve Villages peopled by 20000 Warriours; that their number was much greater before the War, which they wag'd at one time with the *Nadoneffis*, the *Panimoba*, and the *Effanapes*. The People are very civil, and so far from a wild Savage temper, that they have an Air of Humanity and Sweetness. Their Hutts are long, and round at the top, not unlike those of our Savages; but they are made of Reeds and Bulrushes, interlac'd and cemented with a sort of fat Earth. Both the Men and the Women go naked all over, excepting their Privities. The Women are not so handsome, as those who live upon the Lakes of *Canada*. There seems to be something of Government and Subordination among this People; and they have their Houses fortified with the branches of Trees, and Fascines strengthen'd with fat Earth.

The 21<sup>st</sup> we imbarqu'd at the break of day, and landed that Night in an Island cover'd with Stones and Gravel, having pass'd by another at which I would not put in, because I would not slight the opportunity of the Wind, which then stood very fair. Next day the Wind standing equally fair, we set out

and continued our course all that Day, and the following Night; for the six *Effanapes* inform'd us, that the River was clean, and free from Rocks and Beds of Sand. The 23 we landed early in the Morning on the right side of the River, in order to careen one of our Boats that sprung a Leak. While that was a doing, we drest some Venison that had been presented me by the Commander of the last Village of the *Eokoros*; and the adjacent Country being replenish'd with Woods, the Savages of our Company went a shooting in the Forests; but they saw nothing but small Fowls, that they did not think fit to shoot at. As soon as we reimbarqu'd, the Wind fell all of a sudden, and so [116] we were forc'd to ply the Oars; but most of the Crew having slept but little the Night before, they row'd but very faintly, which oblig'd me to put in at a great Island two Leagues higher; the six *Effanapes* Slaves having inform'd me, that this Island afforded great plenty of Hares, which I found to be true. These Animals had a lucky Instinct in taking shelter in this Island, for there the Woods are so thick, that we were forc'd to set fire to several places, before we could dislodge 'em.

Having made an end of our Game, my Soldiers fed heartily, and thereupon fell so sound asleep, that I could scarce get 'em wak'd upon a false Alarm, occasion'd by a Herd of Wolves that made a noise among the Thickets upon the Continent. We reimbarqued next day at ten a Clock in the Morning, and did not run above twelve Leagues in two days, by reason that the Savages of our Company would needs walk along the River side with their Guns, to shoot Geese and Ducks; in

which they had very good Succesfs. After that we incamp't juft by the Mouth of a little River on the right Hand, and the *Effanapes* Slaves gave me notice, that the firft of their Villages was not above fixteen or eighteen Leagues off. Upon this Information, I fent, by the advice of the Savages of our Company, two of the Slaves to give notice of our arrival. The 26<sup>th</sup> we row'd briskly, in hopes to reach the firft Village that day; but being retarded by the huge quantities of floating Wood, that we met in feveral places, we were forc'd to continue all Night in our Canows. The 27<sup>th</sup> about ten or eleven a Clock we approach'd to the Village, and after putting up the great *Calumet* of Peace upon the Prow of our Canows, lay upon our Oars.

Upon our firft appearance, three or four hundred *Effanapes* came running to the fhoar, and, after dancing juft over againft us, invited us afhoar. As foon [117] as we came near the fhoar, they began to jump into our Canows; but I gave 'em to know by the four *Effanapes* Slaves, that I defir'd they fhould retire, which they did immediately. Then I landed, being accompany'd with the Savages of our Company, namely, the *Outagamis*, and the *Outaouas*, and with twenty Soldiers. At the fame time I gave orders to my Sergeants, to land and poft Centries. As we flood upon the fhoar, all the *Effanapes* proft-rated themfelves three or four times before us, with their Hands upon their Foreheads; after which we were convoy'd to the Village with fuch Acclamations of Joy, as perfectly ftun'd us. Upon our arrival at the Gate, our Conductors ftop'd us, till the Governour, a Man of fifty years of Age,

march'd out with five or fix hundred Men arm'd with Bows and Arrows. The *Outagamis* of my Company perceiving this, charg'd 'em with Infolence in receiving Strangers with their Arms about 'em, and call'd out in the *Eokoros* Language, that they ought to lay down their Arms. But the *Effanapes* Slaves that I had fent in the day before, came up to me, and gave me to underftand, that 'twas their cuftom to ftand to their Arms on fuch occafions, and that there was no danger in the cafe. However, the obftinate *Outagamis* oblig'd us to retire immediately to our Canows: Upon which the Leading Officer, and the whole Battalion, flung their Bows and Arrows afide all on a fudden. Then I return'd, and our whole Company enter'd the Village with their Fufees in their Hands, which the Savages admir'd mightily. The Leader of the Savages conducted us to a great Hutt, which look'd as if no body had liv'd in it before. When I and my twenty Soldiers had enter'd the place, they ftop'd the *Outagamis*, affirming, that they did not deferve the priviledge of entring within the Cottage of Peace, fince they had endeavour'd to create a difference, and occafion [118] a War between us and the *Effanapes*. In the mean time I order'd my Men to open the Door, and to call out to the *Outagamis*, that they fhould offer no manner of Injury: But the *Outagamis* in ftcad of coming in, prefs'd me to return with all expedition to the Canows, which accordingly I did, without lofs of time, and carry'd with me the four *Effanapes* Slaves, in order to leave 'em at the firft Village we came to. We had no fooner imbarqued, than the two other Slaves came to acquaint me that the Governor would ftop me in his River; but the

*Outagamis* made answer, that he could not do that, without throwing a Mountain into it. In fine, we did not stand to dispute the matter; and tho' 'twas then late, we row'd straight to the next Village, which lay about three Leagues off. During the time of this passage, I us'd the precaution of taking from my six Slaves an exact information of the Constitution of their Country, and particularly of the principal Village. They having assur'd me, that the Capital Canton was seated upon a fort of a Lake, I took up a Resolution of not stopping at the other Villages, where I should only lose time, and lavish my Tobacco, and steering directly to the *Metropolitan* in order to complain to their Generalissimo.

We arriv'd at the Capital Canton on the 3d of *November*,<sup>1</sup> and there met with a very honourable Reception. The *Outagamis* of our Company complain'd of the affront they had receiv'd; but the Head General being already inform'd of the matter, made answer, that they ought to have carry'd off the Governour or Leading Officer, and brought him along with them. In passing from the first Village to this we run fifty Leagues, and were follow'd by a Procession of People, that were much more sociable than the Governour that offer'd us that Affront. After our Men had fitted up our Hutts at [119] the distance of a Cannon shot from the Village; we went in a joynt body with the *Outagamis* and the *Outaouas*, to the *Cacick* of that Nation; and in the mean time the *Essanapes* Slaves were brought before him by ten of my Soldiers.

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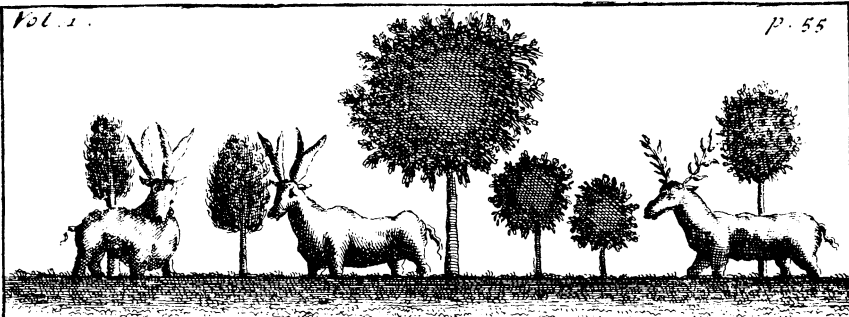
<sup>1</sup> According to Lahontan's own chronology this should be December, not November. — Ed.

I was actually in the presence of this petty King, when these Slaves spent half an hour in prostrating themselves several times before him. I made him a Present of Tobacco, Knives, Needles, Cifars, two Firelocks with Flints, some Hooks, and a very pretty Cutlas. He was better satisfied with these trifling things, which he had never seen before, than I could have been with a plentiful Fortune. He testified his Acknowledgment of the Gift, by a Counter-present that was more solid, though not much more valuable, as consisting of Pease, Beans, Harts, Roe-bucks, Geese and Ducks, of which he sent great plenty to our Camp: And indeed, we were extremely well satisfied with such a seasonable Present. He gave me to know, That, since I design'd to visit the *Gnacfitares*, he would give me a Convoy of two or three hundred Men: That the *Gnacfitares* were a very honest sort of People; and that both they and his People were link'd by a common interest in guarding off the *Mozeemlek*, which were a turbulent and warlike Nation. He added, that the Nation last mention'd were very numerous; that they never took the Field without twenty thousand Men at least: That to repress the Incurfions and Insults of that dangerous Enemy, the *Gnacfitares* and his Nation had maintain'd a Confederacy for six and twenty years; and that his Allies (the *Gnacfitares*) were forc'd to take up their Habitation in Islands, where the Enemy cannot reach 'em. I was glad to accept of his Convoy, and return'd him many thanks. I ask'd four Pirogues of him, which he granted very frankly, allowing me to pick and choose that number out of fifty. Having thus concerted my Measures, I [120] was resolv'd

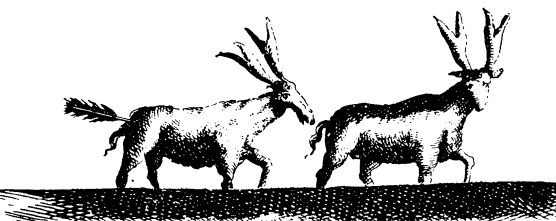
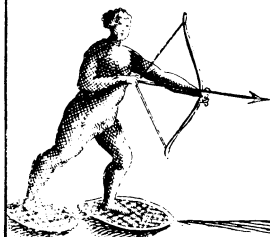
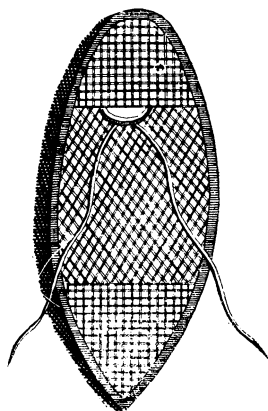
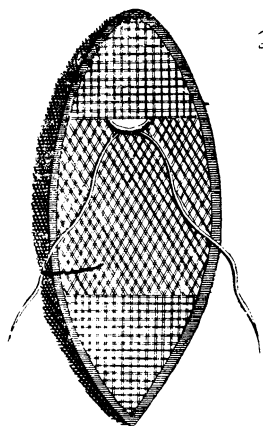


to lose no time; and with that view order'd my Carpenters to plane the Pirogues; by which they were thinner and lighter by one half. The poor innocent People of this Country, could not conceive how we work'd with an Axe; every stroke we gave they cry'd out, as if they had seen some new Prodigy; nay, the firing of Pistols could not divert 'em from that Amazement, though they were equally strangers both to the Pistol and the Axe. As soon as my Pirogues were got ready, I left my Canows with the Governour or Prince, and beg'd of him that they might remain untouch'd by any body; in which point he was very faithful to me.

I cannot but acquaint you in this place, that the higher I went up the River, I met with more discretion from the Savages. But in the mean time I must not take leave of the last Village, without giving some account of it. 'Tis bigger than all the rest, and is the Residence of the Great Commander or Generalissimo, whose Apartment is built by it self towards the side of the Lake, and surrounded with fifty other Apartments, in which all his Relations are lodg'd. When he walks, his way is strow'd with the leaves of Trees: But commonly he is carry'd by six Slaves. His Royal Robes are of the same Magnificence with those of the Commander of the *Okoros*: For he is naked all over, excepting his lower parts, which are cover'd with a large Scarf made of the barks of Trees. The large extent of this Village might justly intitle it to the name of a City. The Houses are built almost like Ovens, but they are large and high; and most of 'em are of Reeds cemented with fat Earth. The day before I left this place, as I was walking about, I saw



2 RACKETS



*Originals or Elks*



thirty or forty Women running at full speed; and being surpris'd with the spectacle, spoke to the *Outagamis* to order my four Slaves to see what the matter was; for these Slaves were my only Interpreters in [121] this unknown Country. Accordingly they brought me word, that 'twas some new married Women, who were running to receive the Soul of an old Fellow that lay a dying. From thence I concluded, that the People were *Pythagoreans*; and upon that Apprehension, ask'd 'em how they came to eat Animals, into which their Souls might be transfus'd: But they made answer, that the Transmigration of Souls is always confin'd to the respective Species, so that the Soul of a Man cannot enter into a Fowl, as that of a Fowl cannot be lodg'd in a quadruped, and so on. The *Okoros*, of both Sexes, are fully as handsom and as clever, as this People.

*December* the 4<sup>th</sup>, I took leave of this Village, having ten Soldiers on board of my Pirogue, besides the ten *Oumamis*,<sup>1</sup> the four *Outaouas*, and the four *Effanapes* Slaves, that I have mention'd so often. Here ended the Credit and Authority of the *Calumet* of Peace, for the *Gnacfitares* are not acquainted with that Symbol of Concord. The first day we had enough to do to run six or seven Leagues, by reason of the Bulrushes with which the Lake is incumber'd. The two following days we sail'd twenty Leagues. The 4<sup>th</sup> day a West-North-West wind surpris'd us with such a boisterous violence, that we were forc'd to put ashoar, and lay two days upon a sandy Ground,

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<sup>1</sup> This must be a misprint for *Outagamis*, as no previous mention has been made of *Oumanis* (*Miamis*) accompanying him. — ED.

where we were in danger of starving for Hunger and Cold; for the Country was so barren, that we could not find a chip of Wood wherewith to warm our selves, or to dress our Victuals; and as far as our Eye could reach, there was nothing to be seen but Fens cover'd with Reeds and Clay, and naked Fields. Having indur'd this Hardship we set out again, and row'd to a little Island, upon which we incamp'd, but found nothing there but green Fields; however, to make some amends we fish'd up great numbers of little Trouts, upon which we fed very heartily. At last, after [122] failing six days more, we arriv'd at the Point or Lands-end of that Island which you see mark'd in my Map with a Flower-de-luce. 'Twas then the 19th day of *December*, and we had not yet felt all the rigorous Hardships of the Cold. As soon as I had landed and fitted up my Tents or Hutts, I detach'd my *Effanapes* Slaves to the first of the three Villages that lay before us; for I had avoided stopping at some Villages in an Island upon which we coasted in the Night-time. The Slaves return'd in a great Alarm, occasion'd by the unfavourable Answer they receiv'd from the *Gnacstares*, who took us for *Spaniards*, and were angry with them for conducting us to their Country. I shall not be minute in every Particular that happen'd, for fear of tiring your Patience. 'Tis sufficient to acquaint you, that upon the Report of my Slaves I immediately embark'd, and posted my self in another Island that lay in the middle between the great Island and the Continent; but I did not suffer the *Effanapes* to be in my Camp. In the mean time the *Gnacstares* sent expeditious Couriers to the People that live eighty

Leagues to the Southward of them, to desire they would send some of their number to examine us; for that People were suppos'd to be well acquainted with the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico*. The length of the Journey did not discourage 'em, for they came as chearfully as if it had been upon a National Concern: and after taking a view of our Cloaths, our Swords, our Fufees, our Air, Complexion, and manner of Speech, were forc'd to own that we were not true *Spaniards*? These Considerations, join'd to the Account I gave 'em of the Reasons upon which I undertook the Voyage, of the War we were engag'd in against *Spain*, and of the Country to the Eastward that we possess'd; these, I say, had so much influence, as to undeceive 'em. Then they invited me to encamp in their Island, and brought me a sort of [123] Grain not unlike our Lentils, that grows plentifully in that Country. I thank'd 'em for their Invitation, and told 'em that I would not be oblig'd to distrust them, nor give them any occasion to distrust me. However, I cross'd with my Savages and ten Soldiers well arm'd; and after breaking the Ice in certain places (for it had freez'd hard for ten or twelve days) I landed within two Leagues of one of their Villages, to which I walk'd up by Land. 'Tis needless to mention the Particulars of the Ceremony with which I was receiv'd, it being the same with what I describ'd upon other occasions; I shall only take occasion to acquaint you, that my Presents made a wonderful Impression upon the Minds of these People, whom I shall call a rascally Rabble, tho' at the same time they are the politest Nation I have yet seen in this Country. Their Governour bears the

Figure of a King more than any of the other Commanders of the Savages. He has an absolute Dominion over all the Villages which are describ'd in my Map. In this and the other Islands I saw large Parks, or Inclosures, stock'd with wild Beeves for the use of the People. I had an Interview for two hours together with the Governour, or the *Cacick*; and almost our whole Conference related to the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico*, who, as he assured me, were not distant from his Country above eighty *Tazous*, each of which is three Leagues. I must own indeed, I was as curious upon this Head as he was; and I wanted an Account of the *Spaniards* from him, as much as he did from me: In fine, we reciprocally inform'd one another of a great many Particulars relating to that Head. He requested me to accept of a great House that was prepar'd for me; and his first piece of Civility consisted in calling in a great many Girls, and pressing me and my Retinue to serve our selves. Had this Temptation been thrown in our way at a more seasonable time, it had prov'd irresistible; but 'twas not an agreeable Mefs [124] for Passengers that were infeebled by Labour and Want. *Sine Cerere & Baccho friget Venus*. After he made us such a civil Proffer, the Savages, upon my instance, represented to him, that my Detachment expected me at a certain hour, and that if I stay'd longer, they would be in pain for me. This Adventure happen'd on the 7th of *January*.

Two days after, the *Cacick* came to see me, and brought with him four hundred of his own Subjects, and four *Mozeemlek* Savages, whom I took for *Spaniards*. My Mistake was

occasion'd by the great difference between these two *American* Nations; for, the *Mozeemlek* Savages were cloath'd, they had a thick bushy Beard, and their Hair hung down under their Ears; their Complexion was swarthy, their Address was civil and submissive, their Mien grave, and their Carriage engaging. Upon these Considerations I could not imagine that they were Savages, tho' after all I found my self mistaken. These four Slaves gave me a Description of their Country, which the *Gnacfitares* represented by way of a Map upon a Deer's Skin; as you see it drawn in this Map. Their Villages stand upon a River that springs out of a ridge of Mountains, from which the Long River likewise derives its Source, there being a great many Brooks there which by a joint Confluence form the River. When the *Gnacfitares* have a mind to hunt wild Beeves, they set out in Pirogues, which they make use of till they come to the Cross mark'd thus (+) in the Map, at the Confluence of two little Rivers. The Hunting of the wild Bulls, with which all the Valleys are cover'd in Summer, is sometimes the occasion of a cruel War: For the other Cross (+) which you see in the Map is one of the Boundaries or Limits of *Mozeemlek*; and if either of these two Nations advances but a little beyond their Limits, it gives Rise to a bloody Engagement. The Mountains I spoke of but now, are six Leagues broad, and so high [125] that one must cast an infinity of Windings and Turnings before he can cross 'em. Bears and wild Beasts are their only Inhabitants.

The *Mozeemlek* Nation is numerous and puissant. The four Slaves of that Country inform'd me, that at the distance



of 150 Leagues from the Place where I then was, their principal River empties it self into a Salt Lake of three hundred Leagues in Circumference, the mouth of which is about two Leagues broad: That the lower part of that River is adorn'd with six noble Cities, furrounded with Stone cemented with fat Earth: That the Houses of these Cities have no Roofs, but are open above like a Platform, as you see 'em drawn in the Map: That besides the abovemention'd Cities, there were above an hundred Towns, great and small, round that sort of Sea, upon which they navigate with such Boats as you see drawn in the Map: That the People of that Country made Stuffs, Copper Axes, and several other Manufactures, which the *Outagamis* and my other Interpreters could not give me to understand, as being altogether unacquainted with such things: That their Government was Despotick, and lodg'd in the hands of one great Head, to whom the rest paid a trembling Submission: That the People upon that Lake call themselves *Tabuglauk*, and are as numerous as the Leaves of Trees, (such is the Expression that the Savages use for an Hyperbole:) That the *Mozeemlek* People supply the Cities or Towns of the *Tabuglauk* with great numbers of little Calves, which they take upon the abovemention'd Mountains: and, That the *Tabuglauk* make use of these Calves for several ends; for, they not only eat their Flesh, but bring 'em up to Labour, and make Cloaths, Boots, &c. of their Skins. They added, That 'twas their Misfortune to be took Prisoners by the *Gnacfitares* in the War which had lasted for eighteen Years; but, that they hoped a Peace would be speedily concluded,

[126] upon which the Prisoners would be exchange'd, pursuant to the usual Custom. They glory'd in the possession of a greater measure of Reason than the *Gnacfitares* could pretend to, to whom they allow no more than the Figure of a Man; for they look upon 'em as Beasts otherwise. To my mind, their Notion upon this Head is not so very extravagant; for I observ'd so much Honour and Politeness in the Conversation of these four Slaves, that I thought I had to do with *Europeans*: But, after all, I must confess, that the *Gnacfitares* are the most tractable Nation I met with among all the Savages. One of the four *Mozeemlek* Slaves had a reddish sort of a Copper Medal hanging upon his Neck, the Figure of which is represented in the Map. I had it melted by Mr. *de Tonti's* Gun-smith, who understood something of Mettals; but it became thereupon heavier, and deeper colour'd, and withal somewhat tractable. I desir'd the Slaves to give me a circumstantial Account of these Medals; and accordingly they gave me to understand, that they are made by the *Tabuglauk*, who are excellent Artizans, and put a great value upon such Medals. I could pump nothing farther out of 'em, with relation to the Country, Commerce and Customs of that remote Nation. All they could say was, that the great River of that Nation runs all along Westward, and that the salt Lake into which it falls is three hundred Leagues in Circumference, and thirty in breadth, its Mouth stretching a great way to the Southward. I would fain have satisfied my Curiosity in being an eye-witness of the Manners and Customs of the *Tabuglauk*; but that being impracticable, I was forc'd to be instructed at

second hand by these *Mozeemlek* Slaves; who assur'd me, upon the Faith of a Savage, that the *Tabuglauk* wear their Beards two Fingers breadth long; that their Garments reach down to their Knees; that they cover their Heads with a sharp-pointed Cap; that they [127] always wear a long Stick or Cane in their hands, which is tipp'd, not unlike what we use in *Europe*; that they wear a sort of Boots upon their Legs which reach up to the Knee; that their Women never shew themselves, which perhaps proceeds from the same Principle that prevails in *Italy* and *Spain*; and, in fine, that this People are always at War with the puissant Nations that are seated in the Neighbourhood of the Lake; but withal, that they never disquiet the strowling Nations that fall in their way, by reason of their Weakness: An admirable Lesson for some Princes in the World, who are so much intent upon the making use of the strongest hand.

This was all I could gather upon that Subject. My Curiosity prompted me to desire a more particular Account; but unluckily I wanted a good Interpreter: and having to do with several Persons that did not well understand themselves, I could make nothing of their incoherent Fustian. I presented the poor miserable Slaves with something in proportion to the Custom of that Country, and endeavour'd to persuade 'em to go with me to *Canada*, by making 'em such Offers as in their esteem would appear like Mountains of Gold: but the love they had for their Country stifled all Persuasion; so true it is, that Nature reduc'd to its just Limits cares but little for Riches.

In the mean time it began to thaw, and the Wind chop'd about to the South-west; upon which I gave notice to the great *Cacique* of the *Gnacftares*, that I had a mind to return to *Canada*. Upon that occasion I repeated my Presents; in compensation of which, my Pirogues were stow'd with Beef as full as they could hold. This done, I embark'd, and cross'd over from the little Island to the Continent, where I fix'd a great long Pole, with the Arms of *France* done upon a Plate of Lead. I set out the 26th of *January*, and arriv'd safe on the 5th of *February* in the Country [128] of the *Effanapes*. We had much more pleasure in sailing down the River, than we had in going up; for we had the agreeable diversion of seeing several Huntsmen shooting the Water-Fowl, that are plentiful upon that River. You must know, that the Stream of the Long River is all along very slack and easie, abating for about three Leagues between the fourteenth and fifteenth Village; for there indeed its Current may be call'd rapid. The Channel is so straight, that it scarce winds at all from the Head to the Lake. 'Tis true 'tis not very pleasant; for most of its Banks have a dismal Prospect, and the Water it self has an ugly Taste: but then its Usefulness atones for such Inconveniencies; for, 'tis navigable with the greatest ease, and will bear Barques of fifty Tun, till you come to that place which is mark'd with a Flower-de-luce in the Map, and where I put up the Post that my Soldiers christen'd *la Hontau's Limit*. *March* 2. I arriv'd in the *Mississipi*, which was then much deeper and more rapid than before, by reason of the Rains and Land-floods. To save the Labour of Rowing, we then

left our Boats to the Current, and arriv'd on the 10th in the Island of *Rencontres*, which took its Name from the Defeat of 400 *Iroquefe*, accomplish'd there by 300 *Nadoueffis*. The Story of the Encounter is briefly this: A Party of 400 *Iroquefe* having a mind to surprife a certain People in the Neighbourhood of the *Otentas* (of whom more anon) march'd to the Country of the *Illinefe*, where they built Canows, and were furnish'd with Provisions. After that they embark'd upon the River *Mississipi*, and were discover'd by another little Fleet that was failing down the other side of the same River. The *Iroquefe* cross'd over immediately to that Island, which is since call'd *Aux Rencontres*. The *Nadoueffis*, *i. e.* the other little Fleet, being suspicious of some ill Design, without knowing what People they were, (for they had no knowledge of the [129] *Iroquefe* but by Hear-say; upon this suspicion, I say, they tugg'd hard to come up with 'em. The two Armies posted themselves upon the point of the Island, where the two Crosses are put down in the Map; and as soon as the *Nadoueffis* came in fight, the *Iroquefe* cry'd out in the *Illinefe* Language, *Who are ye?* To which the *Nadoueffis* answer'd, *Some body*: And putting the like Question to the *Iroquefe*, receiv'd the same Answer. Then the *Iroquefe* put this Question to 'em, *Where are you a going?* To hunt Beeves, reply'd the *Nadoueffis*. But pray, says the *Nadoueffis*, *what's your business?* To hunt Men, reply'd the *Iroquefe*. 'Tis well, says the *Nadoueffis*, *we are men, and so you need go no farther*. Upon this Challenge the two Parties disembark'd, and the Leader of the *Nadoueffis* cut his Canows

to pieces; and after representing to his Warriours that they behov'd either to Conquer or Die, march'd up to the *Iroquefe*; who receiv'd 'em at first Onset with a Cloud of Arrows: But the *Nadoueffis* having stood their first Discharge, which kill'd 'em eighty Men, fell in upon 'em with their Clubs in their hands, before the others could charge again; and so routed 'em entirely. This Engagement lasted for two hours, and was so hot, that two hundred and sixty *Iroquefe* fell upon the spot, and the rest were all taken Prisoners. Some of the *Iroquefe* indeed attempted to make their Escape after the Action was over; but the victorious General sent ten or twelve of his Men to pursue 'em in one of the Canows that he had taken: and accordingly they were all overtaken and drown'd. The *Nadoueffis* having obtain'd this Victory, cut off the Noses and Ears of two of the clivereft Prisoners; and supplying 'em with Fuses, Powder, and Ball, gave 'em the liberty of returning to their own Country, in order to give their Country-men to understand, that they ought not to employ Women to hunt after Men any longer.<sup>1</sup>

[130] The 12th we arriv'd at the Village of the *Otentas*, where we took in a plentiful Provision of *Turkey* Corn, of which these People have great store. They inform'd us, that their River was pretty rapid, and took its Rise from the neighbouring Mountains; and that the upper part of it was adorn'd with several Villages inhabited by the People call'd *Panimaba*,

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<sup>1</sup> This tale appears to have been an invention of Lahontan; none of his contemporaries describes any such encounter between the Sioux and the Iroquois. — ED.

*Paneassa*, and *Panetonka*.<sup>1</sup> But considering that I was straitned for time, and that I saw no probability of learning what I wanted to know with reference to the *Spaniards*, I took leave of 'em the next day, which was the 13th, and in four days time, by the help of the Current and our Oars, made the River of the *Missouris*.<sup>2</sup> This done, we run up against the Stream of that River, which was at least as rapid as the *Mississipi* was at that time; and arriv'd on the 18th at the first Village of the *Missouris*, where I only stop'd to make the People some Presents that procur'd me a hundred Turkeys, with which that People are wonderfully well stock'd.<sup>3</sup> After that, we row'd hard against the Stream, and landed next night near the second Village. As soon as I arriv'd, I detach'd a Sergeant with ten Soldiers to convoy the *Outagamis* to the Village, while the rest of my Crew were busied in fitting up our

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<sup>1</sup> River Otentas is an early name for the Des Moines, so called from the tribe encountered near its mouth. Marquette's map shows the Otontantas, whom Shea, *Early Voyages on the Mississippi* (Albany, 1861), identifies with the Oto, evidently the same as the Authoutantas of LeClercq and Hennepin. The Oto were a Siouan tribe who by the beginning of the nineteenth century had migrated west of the Missouri, and were settled on Platte River with the remnant of the Missouri tribe. The Panimaha, Paneassa, and Panitonka were divisions of the Pawnees, of Caddoan stock. The Panimaha were later called Pawnee Loups. By the close of the eighteenth century they were all west of the Missouri. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Missouri River was first seen at its mouth by Jolliet and Marquette, who called it Pekitanoui, meaning Muddy Stream. Marquette surmised that its upper waters might mingle with a stream flowing into the Vermillion Sea (*Pacific Ocean*). — Ed.

<sup>3</sup> The Missouri were a Siouan tribe first encountered near the mouth of their great river. It would be fruitless to attempt to locate the villages described by Lahontan; but later, the Missouri dwelt for many years near the mouth of Grand River. From this site they were driven late in the eighteenth century, and amalgamated with the Kansa and Oto. On the movements of all these tribes see Dorsey, "Migrations of Siouan Tribes," in *Amer. Naturalist*, xx, pp. 211-218. — Ed.

Hutts and unloading our Canows. It happen'd unluckily that neither the Soldiers nor the *Outagamis* could make the Savages understand 'em; and the latter were just ready to fall upon 'em, when an old Fellow cry'd out, that the Strangers were not without more company, for that he had discover'd our Huts and Canows. Upon this, the Soldiers and the *Outagamis* retir'd in a great Conternation, and advis'd me to keep a strong Guard all night. About two a clock in the Morning two Men approach'd to our little Camp, and call'd in *Illinefe*, that they wanted an Interview; upon which the *Outagamis*, being extreemly well satisfied that there was some body among 'em who could understand what they said, reply'd [131] in *Illinefe*, that they should be very welcome as soon as the Sun appear'd in the Horizon. Nevertheless, the *Outagamis* repented the former Affront so much, that they importun'd me all night long to set fire to 'the Village, and put all the scoundrel Inhabitants to the Sword. I made answer to 'em, that 'twas our business to be wiser than they, and to bend our Thoughts, not upon a fruitless Revenge, but upon the Discovery that we were then in quest of. At the break of Day the two Adventurers of the Night came up to us, and after putting Interrogatories to us for the space of two hours, invited us to come up to their Village. The *Outagamis* reply'd, that the Head or Governour of their Nation ought to have saluted us sooner: and this oblig'd 'em to go back to give him notice. After that we saw no body for three hours: but at last, when our Impatience was just beginning to boil, we perceiv'd the Governour, who accosted us in a trembling Posture. He was



accompany'd with some of his own Men, who were loaded with broil'd or dry'd Meat, Sacks of *Turkey* or *Indian* Corn, dry'd Raifins, and some speckled or particolour'd Buck-skins. In consideration of this Present, I made 'em another of less consequence. Then I brought on a Conference between the *Outagamis* of my Company and the two Night Messengers, in order to make some discovery of the Nature of the Country; but they still stop'd our Mouths with this Answer, that they knew nothing of the Matter, but that the other Nations that liv'd higher up were able to inform us. Had I been of the same mind with the *Outagamis*, we had done noble Exploits in this Place: but I consider'd that 'twas my business to purchase the Knowledge of several things, which I could not obtain by burning the Village. To be short, we re-embark'd that same day, about two a clock in the Afternoon, and row'd about four Leagues up the River, where we made the River of [132] the *Osages*, and encamp'd by its Mouth.<sup>1</sup> That Night we had several false Alarms from the wild Beeves, upon which we made sufficient Reprisals afterwards; for the next day we kill'd many of 'em notwithstanding that it rain'd so heavily that we could scarce stir out of our Hutts. Towards the Evening, when the Rain was over, and while we were transporting two or three of these Beeves to our little Camp, we spy'd an Army of the Savages upon a full March towards us.

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<sup>1</sup> The Missouri was in early nomenclature frequently called "River of the Ozages"; but Lahontan seems here to refer to that now known as Osage River. The Osage Indians were of Siouan origin, closely akin to the Missouri and Kansa. Nearly 2,000 still live (1902) upon their reservation in Oklahoma. — ED.

Upon that, my Men began to entrench themselves, and to unload their Pieces with Worms, in order to charge 'em afresh; but one of the Pieces happening to go off, the whole Body of the Enemy disappear'd, some straggling one way, and some another: for these People were upon the same foot with the Nations that live upon the Long River, forasmuch as neither of them had ever seen or handled Fire-Arms. However, this Adventure mov'd the *Outagamis* so much, that to satisfy them, I was oblig'd to re-embark that very night, and return the same way that I came. Towards Midnight we came before a Village, and kept a profound Silence till Day-break, at which time we row'd up to their Fort; and upon our entering there, and discharging our Pieces in the Air, the Women, Children, and superannuated Men, were put into such a Consternation, that they run from place to place calling out for Mercy. You must know, all their Warriours were abroad, and 'twas a Body of them that offer'd to attack us the day before. The *Outagamis* perceiving the Consternation of the Women and Children, call'd out, that they behov'd to depart the Village, and that the Women should have time to take up their Children. Upon that the whole Crew turn'd out, and we set fire to the Village on all sides. This done, we pursu'd our Course down that rapid River, and enter'd the River *Mississipi* on the 25th, early in the Morning: the 26th, about three a clock in the [133] Afternoon, we descry'd three or four hundred Savages employ'd in the Hunting of Beeves, which swarmed in all the Meads to the Westward. As soon as the Hunters spy'd us, they made a sign that we should make

towards 'em. Being ignorant who, or how numerous they were, we made a halt at first; but at last we put in about a Musket-shot above 'em, calling out to 'em that they should not approach to us in a Body. Upon that, four of their number came up to us with a smiling Countenance, and gave us to know, in the *Ilinefe* Language, that they were *Akanfas*. We could not but credit their Report, for they had Knives and Sciffars hanging upon their Necks, and little Axes about 'em, which the *Ilinefe* present 'em with when they meet. In fine, being assur'd that they were of that Nation, which Mr. *de la Salle* and several other *French-men* were intimately acquainted with, we landed at the same place; and they entertain'd us first with Dancing and Singing, and then with all sorts of Meat.<sup>1</sup> The next day they shew'd us a Crocodile that they had knock'd in the head two days before, by a Stratagem that you'll find describ'd in another place: After that they gave us the diversion of a Hunting Match; for 'tis customary with them, when they mean to divert themselves, to catch the Beeves by the different Methods laid down in this Cut. I put some Questions to 'em relating to the *Spaniards*, but they could not resolve 'em. All that I learn'd from 'em was, that the *Missouris* and the *Osages* are numerous and mischievous

<sup>1</sup> The *Akansas* (Arkansas) was the name by which the French designated the great Siouan tribe of Quapaw. Dorsey (see p. 200, note 3, *ante*) thinks it was an Illinois term for all that stock who lived on the banks of the Ohio, whence the Quapaw moved southward (before 1540) to the region of the river now known as Arkansas. In the beginning of the nineteenth century numerous bands of Arkansas lived along the river of that name. About three hundred yet survive in Oklahoma. For La Salle's adventures among the Arkansas, see Membre's account in Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of Mississippi Valley* (New York, 1853), pp. 169-172. — Ed.

Nations, equally void both of Courage and Honesty; that their Countries were water'd with very great Rivers; and, in a word, were too good for them.

After we had spent two days with them, we pursued our Voyage to the River *Ouabach*, taking care to watch the Crocodiles very narrowly, of which they had told us incredible Stories. The next day we enter'd the Mouth of that River, and founded it, [134] to try the truth of what the Savages reported of its depth. In effect, we found there three Fathom and a half Water; but the Savages of our Company alledg'd, that 'twas more swell'd than usually.<sup>1</sup> They all agreed, that 'twas Navigable an hundred Leagues up, and I wish'd heartily, that my time had allow'd me to run up to its Source; but that being unfeasonable, I sail'd up against the Stream, till we came to the River of the *Illinefe*, which we made on the 9th of *April* with some difficulty, for the Wind was against us the first two days, and the Currents was very rapid.<sup>2</sup>

All I can say of the River *Mississipi*, now that I am to take leave of it, is, that its narrowest part is half a League over, and the shallowest is a Fathom and a half deep; and that

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<sup>1</sup> The Ohio River was usually designated as the Wabash (Ouabache) below the mouth of the present river of that name. Marquette gave it the title Ouabou-skiguou, which the French soon corrupted into Ouabache. The upper reaches of the Ohio were early known by the name it now bears. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Jolliet and Marquette named the Illinois River St. Louis. Several names were later given it; Seignelay (by Hennepin), Rivière Divine, etc. For an explanation of these titles see Parkman, *La Salle*, p. 154 note. This river, about three hundred and fifty miles in length, is entirely in the state of the same name. Its easy navigation made it of much value as a connecting link between the great lakes and the Mississippi. — ED.

according to the information of the Savages, its stream is pretty gentle for seven or eight Months of the year. As for Shelves or Banks of Sand, I met with none in it. 'Tis full of Isles which look like Groves, by reason of the great plenty of Trees, and in the verdant season of the year afford a very agreeable prospect. Its Banks are Woods, Meadows and Hills. I cannot be positive, whether it winds much in other places; but as far as I could see, its course is very different from that of our Rivers in *France*; for I must tell you by the way, that all the Rivers of *America* run pretty straight.

The River of the *Illinese* is intitled to Riches, by virtue of the benign Climate, and of the great quantities of Deer, Roe-Bucks, and Turkeys that feed upon its brinks: Not to mention several other Beasts and Fowls, a description of which would require an intire Volume. If you saw but my Journal, you would be sick of the tedious particulars of our daily Adventures both in Hunting and Fishing divers species of Animals, and in Rencounters with the Savages. In short, the last thing I shall mention of this [135] River, is, that the Banks are replenish'd with an infinity of Fruit-Trees, which we saw in a dismal condition, as being strip'd of their verdure; and that among these Fruit-Trees, there are many Vines, which bear most beautiful Clusters of very large Grapes. I ate some of these Grapes dry'd in the Sun, which had a most delicious Taste. The Beavers are as unfrequent in this, as in the long River, where I saw nothing but Otters, of which the People make Furs for the Winter.

I set out from the *Illinese* River on the 10th of *April*, and

by the help of a West-South-West Wind, arriv'd in fix days at the Fort of *Crevecœur*, where I met with Mr. *de Tonti*, who receiv'd me with all imaginable Civility, and is justly respected and honour'd by the *Iroquefe*.<sup>1</sup> I stay'd three days in this Fort, where there were thirty *Coueurs de Bois* that traded with the *Illinefe*. The 20<sup>th</sup> I arriv'd at the Village of the *Illinefe*; and to lessen the drudgery of a great Land-carriage of twelve great Leagues, ingag'd four hundred Men to transport our Baggage, which they did in the space of four days, being encourag'd by a Bribe of a great Roll of *Brazil* Tobacco, an hundred pound weight of Powder, two hundred weight of Ball, and some Arms, which I gave to the most considerable Men of their number. The 24<sup>th</sup> I arriv'd at *Chekakou*, where my *Outagamis* took leave of me in order to return to their own Country, being very well satisfied with a Present I made 'em of some Fuses, and some Pistols.<sup>2</sup> The 25<sup>th</sup> I imbarqued, and by rowing hard in a Calm, made the River of the *Oumamis* on the 28<sup>th</sup>. There I met four hundred Warriours, upon the

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<sup>1</sup> If Lahontan had really been at Tonty's fort on the Illinois, he would have known better than to call it Fort Crêvecoeur. The latter was the fort built near the site of Peoria, Ill., on La Salle's first journey to Illinois, and destroyed by mutineering soldiers two months later (Jan.-March, 1680). Tonty was at this time in command at Fort St. Louis, built (1682) on "La Rocher" farther up the river near the present Utica. For its later history see p. 133, note 1, *ante*. Lahontan probably intended to say that Tonty was respected and honored by the Illinois, not the Iroquois, against whom he waged frequent wars. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> The portage at Chicago was first made known to the French by the voyage of Jolliet and Marquette, who returned to Mackinac by this route (1672). They reported it as very convenient for settlement (*Jes. Rel.*, lviii, pp. 105, 107); but La Salle wrote less favorably of the site, and that a canal would be very expensive. The connection between Chicago River and the Illinois is now secured by the Chicago drainage canal, between that city and Joliet, Ill. — ED.

very fame place where Mr. *de la Salle* had formerly built a Fort.<sup>1</sup> These Warriours were then imploy'd in burning three *Iroquesse*, who, as they said, deserv'd the Punishment; and invited us to share in the pleasure of the Show; for the Savages take it very ill if one [136] refuses the diversion of such real Tragedies. The Tragical spectacle made me shrink, for the poor wretches were put to inconceivable Torture; and upon that I resolv'd to reimbarque with all expedition; alledging for an Apology, that my Men had great store of Brandy with 'em, and would certainly make themselves drunk, in solemnising their Victory, upon which they would be apt to commit disorders, that I could not possibly prevent. Accordingly I went immediately on board, and after coasting along the Lake, cross'd the Bay *de l'Ours*, and landed at *Miflimakinac* the 22<sup>d</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

I am inform'd by the *Sieur de S. Pierre de Repantigni*, who travel'd from *Quebec* hither upon the Ice, that Mr. *de Denonville* has took up a resolution of making a Peace with the *Iroquesse*, in

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<sup>1</sup> The River of the Miamis was that now known as St. Joseph, which flows into Lake Michigan in Berrien County, Mich. La Salle built a fort at this place in November, 1679, which was destroyed the next spring by the deserters from Fort Crèvecoeur. In the autumn of the same year it was rebuilt by La Salle's lieutenant La Forest, and there the great explorer spent the ensuing winter. The Jesuits founded a mission to the Miamis about sixty miles up the river, near the present Niles, Mich. The mission and the fort afterwards built were known as St. Joseph. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> The Bay *de l'Ours* qui Dort (Bay of Sleeping Bears) was that now called Grand Traverse Bay, Mich. This name appears upon nearly all French maps until the English conquest (1760). The first English maps designate it as Grand Bay; later, it acquired its present appellation. The French name was doubtless given because of a fancied resemblance in the rocky headlands to sleeping bears. — ED.

which he means to comprehend the other Nations that are his Allies; and with that view had given notice to his Allies, that they should not infest the *Iroquese*.<sup>1</sup> He acquaints me further, that Mr. *de Denonville* has sent orders to the Governour of this place, to perswade the *Rat*, (one of the Commanders of the *Hurons*) to go down to the Colony, with a design, to have him hang'd; and that the Savage General being aware of the design, has made a publick Declaration, that he will go thither on purpose to defie him. Accordingly he designs to set out to Morrow with a great body of *Outaouas*, and some *Coueurs de Bois*, under the command of Mr. *Dulbut*. As for the Soldiers of my Detachment, I have dispers'd 'em in several Canows among the Savages, and the *Coueurs de Bois*; but having some business to adjust in this place, I am oblig'd to tarry my self seven or eight days longer.

This, Sir, is the true account of my little Voyage. I have related nothing but the Essential Circumstances; choosing to overlook the rest, which are so trifling, as to be unworthy of your Curiosity. [137] As for the *Illinese* Lake, 'tis three hundred Leagues in Circumference, as you may see by the Scale of Leagues upon the Map. 'Tis seated in an admirable Cli-

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<sup>1</sup> Jean Paul le Gardeur, sieur de St. Pierre de Repentigny, was grandson of a Norman gentleman of good family, who early settled in Canada; and, on his mother's side, of Jean Nicolet, first explorer of Wisconsin. He had seen service in the Northwest, probably under Du Luth. He was in 1689 sent by Denonville with orders for the destruction of Fort Frontenac, and distinguished himself as an officer in both King William's (1689-97) and Queen Anne's (1702-13) wars. In 1718 he built the French post at Chequamegon Bay, on Lake Superior. His son Jacques, second sieur de St. Pierre, was the officer whom Washington encountered upon the Allegheny (1753). — ED.



mate; its Banks are cloath'd with fine and tall Trees, and have but few Meads. The River of the *Oumamis* is not worth your regard. The Bay *de l'Ours qui dort*, is of an indifferent large extent, and receives the River upon which the *Outaouas* are wont to hunt Beavers every third year. In fhort, it has neither Shelves, Rocks, nor Banks of Sand. The Land which bounds it on the South fide, is replenish'd with Roe-bucks, Deer, and Turkeys. Farewel, Good Sir: And assure your felf, that 'twill always be a fenfible pleafure to me, to amufe you with an account of the greateft Curiofities I meet with.

But now, Sir, I hope you will not take it ill, that the Relation I here give you, is only an Abridgment of my Voyage: For, in earneft, to be minute upon every particular Curiofity, would require more time and leifure than I can fpare. I have here fent you a view of the fubftantial part; and fhall afterwards hope for an opportunity of recounting to you by word of Mouth, an infinity of Adventures, Rencounters, and Observations, which may call up the reflecting faculty of thinking Men. My own Thought is too Superficial to philofophife upon the Origin, the Belief, the Manners and Customs of fo many Savages; or to make any advances with reference to the extent of this Continent to the Weftward. I have contented my felf with offering fome thoughts upon the caufes of the bad fuccefs of the Discoveries, that feveral experienc'd Men have attempted in *America*, both by Sea and Land: And I flatter my felf, that my thoughts upon that head are juft. The frefh Inftances of Mr. *de la Salle*, and feveral other unlucky Discoverers, may afford a fufficient and feafonable caution to

[138] those, who for the future shall undertake to discover all the unknown Countries of this New World. 'Tis not every one that's qualify'd for such an Enterprize, *non licet omnibus adire Corinthum*. 'Twere an easie matter to trace the utmost limits of the Country that lies to the West of *Canada*, provided it be gone about in a proper Method. In the first place, instead of Canows, I would have such Adventurers to make use of certain Sloops of a peculiar Structure, which might draw but little Water, and be portable, as being made of light Wood; and withall carry thirteen Men, with 35 or 40 hundred weight of Stowage, and be able to bear the shock of the Waves in the great Lakes. Courage, Health, and Vigilance, are not sufficient of themselves to qualify a Man for such Adventures; he ought to be possess'd of other Talents, which are rarely met with in one and the same Person. The Conduct of the three hundred Men that accompany'd me upon this Discovery, gave me a great deal of trouble. It requires a large stock of Industry and Patience, to keep such a Company up to their Duty. Sedition, Mutinies, Quarrels, and an infinity of disorders frequently take place among those, who being in remote and solitary Places, think they have a right of using force against their Superiours. One must dissemble, and even shut his Eyes upon occasion, lest the growing Evil should be inflam'd: The gentlest Methods are the surest, for him that commands in Chief; and if any Mutiny or Seditious Plot is in view, 'tis the business of the inferior Officers to stifle it, by perswading the Mutineers, that the discovery of such things to the Commanding Officer, would create a great deal

of uneasiness. So, the chief Officer must still make as if he were ignorant of what passes, unless it be, that the flame breaks out in his Presence; then indeed he lies under an indispensable Obligation, of inflicting speedy [139] and private punishment, without his prudence directs him to put off the Execution, upon an apprehension of some pernicious consequences that may ensue thereupon. In such Voyages he must overlook a thousand things, which upon other occasions he has all reason to punish. He must counterfeit a downright ignorance of their Intrigues with the She-Savages, of their Quarrels among themselves, of their negligence in not mounting the Guard, and not observing the other points of Duty; in a word, he must pretend to know nothing of an Infinity of such Disorders, as have no direct tendency to a Revolt. He ought to use the precaution of singling out a Spy in his little Army, and reward him handsomely for a dexterous Intelligence as to all that happens; to the end that he may remedy the growing disorders either directly or indirectly. This Spie may by good management, and due secrecy find out the Ringleader of a Club or Cabal; and when the Commanding Officer has receiv'd such satisfaction upon the matter, that there's no room left to doubt of the Criminal's Demerit; 'twill then be very convenient to make away with him, and that with such management, that no body should know what became of him.

Farther: He ought to give 'em Tobacco and Brandy now and then, to ask their advice upon some occasions, to fatigue 'em as little as possible, to call 'em up to dance and make

merry, and at the same time to exhort 'em to live in a good understanding with one another. The best Topick he can make use of for enforcing their Duty, is Religion, and the Honour of their Country, and this he ought to descant upon himself: For though I have a great deal of Faith in the power of the Clergy; yet I know that sort of Men do's more harm than good, in Voyages of this nature; and for that reason I'd choose to be without their Company. The Person [140] who undertakes to go upon a Discovery, ought to be very nice and cautious in the choice of his Men; for every one is not fit for his business. His Men ought to be between 30 and 40 years of Age, of a dry Constitution, of a peaceable Temper, of an active and bold Spirit, and inur'd to the fatigues of Voyages. The whole Retinue must consist of three hundred Men; and of that number there must be some Ship-Carpenters, Gunsmiths, and Sawyers with all their Tools; besides Huntsmen, and Fishermen with their Tackling. You must likewise have Surgeons among 'em, but their Chest ought to contain nothing but Razours, Lancets, External Medicines for Wounds, Orvietan and Senna. All the Men of the Detachment, ought to be provided with Buff-Coats and Boots to turn the Arrows; for, as I intimated above, the Savages of the unknown Countries are strangers to Fire-Arms. They must be arm'd with a double barrel'd Gun, a double barrel'd Pistol, and a good long Sword. The Commanding Officer must take care to provide a sufficient quantity of the Skins of Deer, Elks, and Beeves, in order to be sew'd together, and hung round his Camps

upon certain Stakes fix'd at convenient distances from one another. I had as many as would go round a square of thirty Foot every way; for each Skin being five Foot deep, and almost four Foot broad, I made two pieces of eight Skins a piece, which were rais'd and extended in a Minute. Besides these, he ought to carry with him some Pot-Guns of eight Foot in length, and six in breadth; with two Hand-Mills for grinding the *Indian* Corn, Nails of all sizes, Pickaxes, Spades, Hatchets, Hooks, Soap, and Cotton to make Candles of. Above all, he must not forget to take in good store of Powder, Brandy, *Brazil* Tobacco, and such things as he must present to the Savages whose Country he discovers. Add to this Cargo, an Astrolabe, a Semicircle, several [141] Sea-Compasses, some Simple, and some of Variation, a Load-stone, two large Watches of three Inches Diameter; Pencils, Colours, and Paper, for making Journals and Maps, for the designing of Land-Creatures, Fowl, Fish, Trees, Plants, Grain, and in a word, whatever seems worthy of his Curiosity. I would likewise advise him to carry with him some Trumpeters and Fiddlers, both for animating his Retinue, and raising the admiration of the Savages. With this Equipage, Sir, a Man of Sense, Conduct, and Action, I mean, a Man that's Vigilant, Prudent, Cautious, and above all, Patient and Moderate, and qualify'd for contriving Expedients upon all occasions; a Man, I say, thus qualify'd, and thus fitted out, may boldly go to all the Countries that lye to the West of *Canada*, without any apprehension of danger. As for my own part, I seriously declare,

that if I were possess'd of all these qualities, I should esteem it my happiness to be employ'd upon such an Enterprize, both for the Glory of his Majesty, and my own Satisfaction: For the continu'd diversity of Objects, did so charm me in my Voyages, that I had scarce time to reflect upon the fatigue and trouble that I underwent. I am,

*SIR,*  
*Yours, &c.*

## [142] LETTER XVII.

Dated at *Quebec* September 28. 1689.

*The Author sets out from Missilimakinac to the Colony, and describes the Country, Rivers, and Passes that he saw by the way. The Iroquese make a fatal incursion into the Island of Monreal: Fort Frontenac is abandon'd. Count Frontenac is sent to Canada, and the Marquis of Denonville is recall'd.*

SIR,

I WRIT to you from *Missilimakinac* on the 28th of May. I left that place *June* the 8th, and set out for *Monreal*, accompany'd with twelve *Outaouas*, who were divided into two Canows, and row'd very hard. The 23d, I overtook the *Coueurs de Bois* in the River *Creuse*, who had got the start of me for some days.<sup>1</sup> Mr. *Dulbut* us'd his utmost efforts to dissuade me from going further with so weak a Retinue. He would have had me to go down along with him; and remonstrated to me, that if my twelve Conducters perceiv'd either in the Land-carriage or upon the Rivers, any thing that might call up an apprehension of falling into the hands of the *Iroquese*, they would desert me and the Canows, and fly to the

<sup>1</sup> The *Rivière Creuse*—called by the English Deep River—is not a separate stream, but the long, deep, still part of the *Ottawa* River, extending for many miles above the *Allumettes* Rapids and Islands. *Lahontan* apparently gives that name to all of the Upper *Ottawa* or to the *Mattawan*.—ED.

Woods to avoid the Enemy. I rejected his Advice, though I had like to have repented of my resolution not long after; for according to his Prediction, my Canow-Men threaten'd to run away to the Forrests, at the Fall call'd *Long Saut*<sup>1</sup>: And indeed if they had done it, I had follow'd 'em, upon the reflection, that of two Evils a Man ought [143] to choose the least; but this Storm blew over. In the great River of the *Outaouas*, not far from the River of *Lievre*,<sup>2</sup> I met Mr. *de St. Helene* at the Head of a Party of the *Coueurs de Bois*, who was bound for *Hudson's Bay*, in order to retake some Forts that the *English* had seiz'd upon.<sup>3</sup> He acquainted me with the Prince of *Orange's* Expedition for *England*; and gave me to understand, that upon his arrival King *James* retir'd to *France*, and that the Prince was proclaim'd King, which seem'd to presage a bloody and sharp War in *Europe*. I assure you, Sir, this piece of News surpriz'd me extreamly; and notwithstanding that I

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<sup>1</sup> This was the Long Sault of the Ottawa, not that of the St. Lawrence, for which see p. 68, note 1, *ante*. The former, about three miles in length, is on the Ottawa above the Lake of Two Mountains, and is now avoided by the Grenville Canal. It was at the lower end of these rapids that occurred the heroic defense of Canada by Dollard and his companions (1661). See Parkman, *Old Régime in Canada*, chap. 3. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Rivière au Lièvre descends from the north and enters the Ottawa about three miles above the upper end of the Long Sault. — ED.

<sup>3</sup> For Jacques le Moyne, Sieur de St. Hélène, see p. 118, note 1, *ante*. He was carrying supplies and despatches to his brother Iberville, who was in command of the forts which the French had captured (1686) in Hudson Bay. Two English ships had been sent to recover these; during St. Hélène's absence, Iberville succeeded in capturing both of these vessels, with their officers and crews. Iberville had sent messengers to the governor of Canada, who left Fort Albany (Fr., St. Anne) Jan. 5, 1689, and came overland on snowshoes. See Charlevoix, *History of New France* (Shea's trans.), iv, pp. 37-40. — ED.



had it from the Mouth of a Man, whose word I rely very much upon, yet I had all the difficulty in the World to make my self believe, that a Revolution of such Importance could be accomplish'd in so short a time, without the effusion of Blood; especially considering what a strict Alliance there was between our Court, and the Court of *England*, and how much 'twas the interest of both these Monarchs to give mutual assistance to one another. *July* the 9<sup>th</sup> I arriv'd at *Monreal*, after venturing down several fearful Cataracts in the River of the *Outaouas*, and enduring the hardships of fifteen or twenty Land-carriages, some of which are above a League in length.

The Navigation is pretty sure from *Missilimakinac* to the River *des François*; for in coasting along the Lake of *Hurons*, we meet with an infinity of Islands, which serve for a shelter.<sup>1</sup> But in going up that River, there's some difficulty, for it has five Cataracts which oblige us to turn out and carry all over-land for thirty, fifty, and a hundred Paces. Having pass'd that River, we enter'd the Lake of the *Nepicerinis*, from whence we are forc'd to transport our Canows and Baggage two Leagues over-land, to another River which has six or seven Water-falls that we commonly shoot.<sup>2</sup> From that River we

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<sup>1</sup> The distance from Mackinac to the mouth of French River, in Georgian Bay, is nearly 200 miles, taking as direct a course as possible among the islands of the North Channel. French River (River des Français) was so called because it was the accustomed waterway of the French voyageurs, who on account of the hostility of the Iroquois, found the difficult route via the Ottawa, Lake Nipissing, and French River more practicable than the Great Lakes. — ED.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>2</sup> French River is fifty-five miles long, and filled with rapids and falls. Lake Nipissing was named from the tribe of Algonquian Indians first encountered on its banks, some of whose descendants still live on a reservation on the north bank of the

have another [144] Land-carriage to the River *Creuse*, which falls with rapid Currents into the great River of the *Outaouas*, near a place call'd *Mataouan*.<sup>1</sup> We continue our course upon this great River, till we come to the point of the Island of *Monreal*, where 'tis lost in the great River of St. *Laurence*. These two Rivers joyn one another with very gentle Streams, and quitting their fearful Channels form the little Lake of St. *Louis*. I thought to have lost my Life at the fall, call'd the fall of St. *Louis*, about three Leagues from *Monreal*, for our Canow having overfet in the Eddy, I was carry'd by the Current to the foot of that Cataract, from whence the Chevalier *de Vaudreuil* drag'd me out by a great chance.<sup>2</sup> The Canows and the Skins belonging to the six Savages were lost; and one of the Savages was drown'd. This is the only time I was in danger, through the whole course of my Voyages. As soon as I landed here, I repair'd with diligence to a Tavern to refresh my self, and to make up the losses I had sustain'd by a necessary Abstinence. The next day I waited upon Mr. *de Denonville*,

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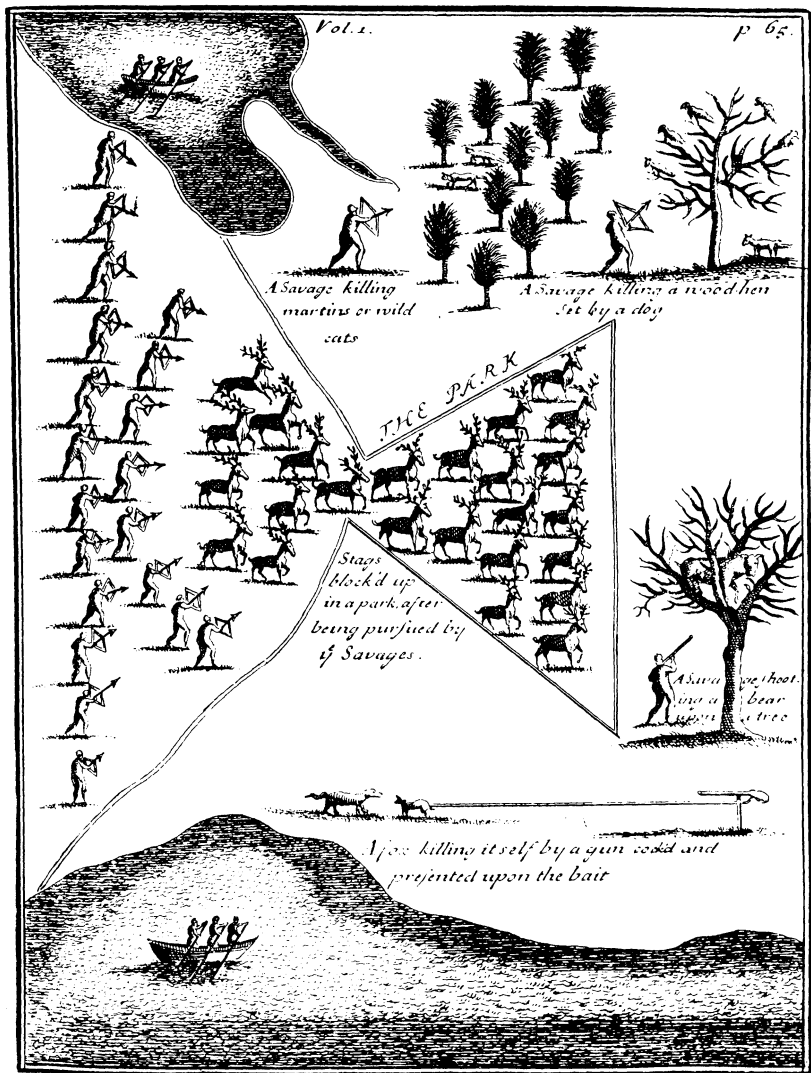
lake. From the eastern end of this lake, the route lay for a mile and a half along *Rivière de Vase* (Muddy River), whence the Portage au Vase, of about four miles, led over the watershed to Trout Lake, the source of River Mattawan. This river flows east into the Ottawa, is about thirty-four miles long, and has in it fourteen rapids, some of which are very difficult. For details of this route, see Alexander Henry, *Travels and Adventures* (Bain ed.), pp. 28-37; Mackenzie, *Voyages through the Continent of North America* (London, 1801), pp. xxix-xxxvii. — Ed.

<sup>1</sup> Mattawan is now a town at the junction of River Mattawan with the Ottawa; it is three hundred miles from Montreal. Champlain utilized this route in his voyage to the Hurons (1615). — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> For Lake St. Louis and the fall of the same name, see p. 66, note 1, *ante*. Lachine Rapids were frequently dangerous to the returning voyageur, who had escaped all the perils of the upper country. Jolliet here lost his papers on his return from the famous exploration of 1673. — Ed.

and Mr. *de Champigni*, to whom I gave an account of my Voyages, and withal, gave in the News that a great company of the *Coureurs de Bois* and Savages would arrive very speedily; which they did accordingly after fifteen days. The *Rat* I mention'd above came down hither, and return'd home notwithstanding the threats that were levell'd against him. By this Adventure, he shew'd that he laugh'd at their Intrigues. But now that I have mention'd his name, I cannot forbear mentioning a malicious Stratagem that this cunning Savage made use of last year, to prevent the conclusion of a Peace between Mr. *de Denonville* and the *Iroquese*.

This Savage is the general and chief Counsellour of the *Hurons*; he is a Man of forty years of Age, and brave in his way. When he found himself [145] press'd and importun'd by Mr. *de Denonville*, to enter into the Alliance concluded in the year 1687, that I took notice of before; he at last comply'd with his desire, with this reserve, that the War should not be put to an end till the *Iroquese* were totally routed. This clause the Governour promis'd to make good, and gave him assurances to that purpose on the 3d of *September*, in the same year, which happen'd about two days before I set out from *Niagara*, upon my Voyage to the great Lakes. This Savage-General relying upon Mr. *de Denonville's* promise, march'd from *Missilimakinac* at the Head of an hundred Warriours as I insinuated in my 14th Letter, in order to invade the *Iroquese* Country, and achieve some glorious feats among 'em. In the mean time, to carry on his design the more cautiously, he thought it proper to pass by the way of Fort *Frontenac*, where





he might receive some intelligence. Upon his arrival at this Fort, the Governour told him that Mr. *de Denonville* was negotiating a Peace with the five *Iroquefe* Nations, whoſe Embaſſadors and Hoſtages he expected in a ſhort time, in order to conclude and ratifie the Peace, he having orders to conduct 'em to *Monreal*: And that upon that Conſideration, 'twas moſt proper for him and his Warriours to return home, and to paſs no further. The Savage General was mightily ſurpris'd with this unexpected piece of News; eſpecially conſidering that by the means of that Peace, he and his Nation would be given up as a Sacrifice for the Wellfare of the French. When the Governor had made an end of his Remonſtrance, the *Rat* acknowledg'd, that what he offer'd was very reaſonable, but withal, that inſtead of following his Advice, he would go and tarry for the *Iroquefe* Embaſſadours and Hoſtages at the Cataracts, by which they were oblig'd to paſs. He had not tarry'd there above five or fix days, before the unhappy Deputies [146] arriv'd with a Train of forty young Men, who were all either kill'd or taken as they diſembarked. The Priſoners were no ſooner fetter'd, than this crafty General of the *Hurons* repreſented to 'em, that the *French* Governour had ſent him notice to take up that Poſt, in order to lie in wait for a Party of fifty Warriours, that were to paſs that way at a certain ſet time. The *Iroquefe* being much ſurpris'd with the apprehenſion of the perfidiouſneſs that he charg'd upon Mr. *de Denonville*, acquainted the *Rat* with the deſign upon which they came. Upon that the *Rat* counterfeited a ſort of Rage and Fury; and to play his Cards

the better, flew out in invectives against Mr. *de Denonville*, declaring, that some time or other he would be reveng'd upon that Governour, for making him the Instrument of the most barbarous Treachery that ever was acted. Then he fix'd his Eyes upon all the Prisoners, among whom was the chief Embassadour call'd *Teganesorens*,<sup>1</sup> and spoke to this purpose; *Go my Brethren, though I am at War with you, yet I release you, and allow you to go home. 'Tis the Governour of the French that put me upon this black Action, which I shall never be able to digest, unless your five Nations revenge themselves, and make their just Reprisals.* This was sufficient to convince the *Iroquese* of the sincerity of his words; and they assur'd him upon the spot, that if he had a mind to make a separate Peace, the five Nations would agree to it: However, the *Rat* having lost one Man in this Adventure, kept an *Iroquese* Slave to supply the place of the Man he had lost: And after furnishing the Prisoners with Guns, Powder, and Ball, in order to their return homeward, march'd to *Missilimakinac*, where he presented the *French* Governour with the Slave that he brought off. The poor wretch was no sooner deliver'd, than he was condemn'd to be shot; for at that time the *French* Garrison did not know that [147] Mr. *de Denonville* design'd to clap up a Peace with the *Iroquese*. The condemn'd Prisoner gave an

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<sup>1</sup> Teganissoren (Dekanissore) was a famous Onondaga chief who for many years took a prominent part in the councils of the Iroquois, and in the French and English wars. Being much attached to Frontenac, during his rule he was regarded by the English as a French spy. Later, he became attached to the English; but in 1711 notified Vaudreuil of an intended British attack. For his negotiations with the two powers, see *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, index. — ED.

account of his Adventure, and that of the Ambassadors; but the *French* thought that the fear of Death made the fellow talk idly, and were confirm'd in that thought, by hearing the *Rat* and his Men say that he was Light-headed: Infomuch, that the poor Fellow was put to death, notwithstanding all the reasons he could offer. The same day that he was shot, the *Rat* call'd an old *Iroquefe* Slave that had serv'd him a long while, and told him he had resolv'd to allow him the liberty of returning to his own Country, and spending the rest of his days among his Friends and Country-men. At the same time he gave him to know, that since he had been an Eye-witness of the barbarous usage that his Countrymen had met with from the *French*, notwithstanding what he offer'd in his own defence, it behov'd him to acquaint his Countrymen with the blackness of that Action. The manumitted Slave obey'd his orders so punctually, that soon after the *Iroquefe* made an Incurfion, at a time when the Governour did not dream of any such thing, for he had us'd the Precaution of giving the *Iroquefe* to understand, that he disallow'd of the *Rat's* Treachery; infomuch, that he had a mind to have him hang'd; and upon this prospect, expected hourly ten or twelve Deputies to conclude the Peace he so much desir'd.<sup>1</sup>

In effect the Deputies did come, but neither their Number nor their Design was suitable to what the Governour had

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<sup>1</sup> Parkman, after careful comparison with other original documents bearing on this story of the *Rat's* treachery, accepts the account of Lahontan as substantially correct. He thinks the weight of evidence, however, would place the site of the ambuscade at La Famine, rather than the Cascades of the St. Lawrence. See *Frontenac*, p. 176, note. — ED.



promised to himself. Twelve hundred Warriours landed at the Lands-end of the Island of *Monreal*, and burnt and sack'd all the Plantations in that Quarter: They maffacred Men, Women, and Children; and Madam *de Denonville*, who was then at *Monreal* with her Husband, did not think her felf safe in that place. A general Confternation was fspread all about; for the *Barbarians* were not above [148] three Leagues from *Monreal*. They burnt all the adjacent Settlements, and block'd up two Forts.<sup>1</sup> Mr. *de Denonville* fent out a Detachment of a hundred Soldiers and fifty Savages to oppofe 'em, being unwilling to fpare a greater number out of the City: but all the Men of the Detachment were either taken or cut in pieces, excepting twelve Savages, one Soldier, and Mr. *de Longueil* who commanded the Party, and was carried off by the twelve Savages after his Thigh was broke: The other Officers, namely, the *Sieurs de la Raberre, Denis, la Plante, and Villedenè*, were all taken Prifoners.<sup>2</sup> In a word, the *Barbarians* laid almoft the

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<sup>1</sup> Lahontan must have been in Montreal at the time of this massacre at Lachine, which occurred August 5, 1689, and was the most appalling in the history of New France. There are several other reports of eye-witnesses, which correspond in the main to this account. The two forts were block-houses known as Forts Rolland and Rémy. For a detailed account, with full list of the victims, see Girouard, *Lake St. Louis*, pp. 117-139. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Le Moyne, first baron de Longueuil, later governor of New France (1725-26), was eldest son of Charles, seigneur de Longueuil, for whom see p. 74, note 1, *ante*. Longueuil distinguished himself in the Iroquois wars, was for many years governor of Montreal, and one of the most distinguished Canadians. He died in 1729.

Of the other officers, all were finally rescued from the Iroquois, except Lieutenant de la Rabeyre, who was burned at the stake. La Plante did not return to the colony until 1692. After his release, Etienne de Villedonné led troops against the Mohawk (1692-93), and distinguished himself in Acadia (1705). He died in 1726. — ED.

whole Island waste, and lost only three Men, who having drank to excess of the Wine they found in the Plantations, were decoy'd into a Fort by a *Canadese* Cow-keeper, that had been their Slave for some Years. As soon as the three unfortunate *Iroquese* arriv'd in the Fort, they were thrown into a Cellar to sleep themselves sober ; and, questionless, as soon as they wak'd they repented of their excessive drinking. When they wak'd, they fell immediately a finging ; and when the Garrison offer'd to fetter 'em, and carry 'em to *Monreal*, they flew to some Clubs that lay in the Cellar, and made such a vigorous and brave defence, that the Garrison was forc'd to shoot 'em upon the spot. The Cow-keeper being brought before Mr. *de Denonville*, he told him, That the Breach made by the *Rat's* Contrivance was irreparable ; that the five *Iroquese* Nations repented that Adventure with so much warmth, that 'twas impossible to dispose 'em to a Peace in a short time ; that they were so far from being angry with that *Huron* for what he did, that they were willing to enter into a Treaty with him, owning that he and his Party had done nothing but what became a brave Man and a good Ally. Doubtless this fatal Incurfion was a great Surprisal to Mr. *de Denonville*, and afforded him a copious Field for Reflection. 'Twas already impossible [149] to continue the Possession of Fort *Frontenac*, where they began to want Provisions, and which could not be relieved without exposing a great many Men to the danger of the Passes or Cataracts, which I have mention'd so often. There was a downright necessity of calling out the Garrison,

and blowing up the Fort; but the difficulty lay in finding a Man to carry Orders for that effect to the Governour, for no body durst undertake it, till the *Sieur Peter d'Arpentigni* offer'd to go all alone through the Forests; and accordingly he went, and did his Business successfully. The Orders were extream welcome to *Mr. de Valrenes*, the Governour of the Fort for the time; who, upon the receiving of 'em, run a Mine under the four Bastions, which, with the Powder he put in, was reckon'd sufficient to blow it up.<sup>1</sup> This done, he embark'd, and came down the River through the Cataracts to *Monreal*, where he found *Mr. de Denonville*, and accompany'd him hither. That Officer did not only abdicate the Fort of *Frontenac*, but set fire to three great Barques that they us'd to ply with upon the Lake, both to awe the *Iroquese* in time of War, and to convey Commodities to 'em in time of Peace. *Mr. de Denonville* acted a prudent part in relinquishing both this Fort and that of *Niagara*; for, in earnest these two Posts are indefensible, by reason of the inaccessible Cataracts, upon which an Ambuscado of ten *Iroquese* may repulse a thousand *Frenchmen* by the throwing of Stones. But after all I must own, that the Welfare and Preservation of our Colonies had an absolute dependance upon these two Forts, which seem'd to insure the utter Destruction of the *Iroquese*; for they could not stir out

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<sup>1</sup> Philippe Clément Duvault, sieur de Valrennes, was already a veteran officer when he arrived in Canada in 1685. In that year, he led one division of La Barre's forces, and performed prodigies of valor in the relief of La Prairie de la Madeleine (1691), for which he received high praise from Frontenac. See *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, pp. 522, 523. — ED.

of their Villages to Hunt, or to Fish, without running the risque of having their Throats cut by the Savages in Alliance with us, who being then assur'd of a safe Retreat, would have made continual Incurfions into the Country of those *Barbarians*: [150] And by this means the *Iroquefe* being unprovided with Beaver-skins to be given in exchange for Guns, Powder, Ball, and Nets, would be starv'd to death, or at least be oblig'd to depart their Country.

In the end of *September* Mr. *de Bonaventure*, Captain and Owner of a Merchant Ship, arriv'd in this Port, and brought the News of Mr. *de Frontenac*'s Reinstallment in the place of Governour-General of *Canada*,<sup>1</sup> and of the Re-calling of Mr. *de Denonville*, whom the Duke *de Beauvilliers* has recommended to the King, for the place of Sub-Governour to the Princes his Grandsons.<sup>2</sup> Some People are uneasie at the re-calling of this Governour; and 'tis said, that the Reverend Fathers the Jesuits, fall under the number of the Malecontents: For if we may credit the reports of the Country, they contributed in a great measure, to the re-calling of Mr. *de Frontenac* seven or eight years agoe, by acting in concert

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<sup>1</sup> Claude Denis, sieur de Bonaventure, belonged to one of the oldest Canadian families, and afterwards rose to the rank of admiral in the navy. In 1691 he co-operated in driving the English from Acadia, and was aid to Iberville in the latter's expeditions. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Paul, Duke de Beauvilliers, was one of the noted figures of the court of Louis XIV, and famous for his probity and piety. For many years he had served as first gentleman of the bedchamber and chief of the council of finance, and in 1670 was chosen governor of the royal princes. He died in 1714, on which occasion St. Simon drew the remarkable portrait of him which appears in his *Memoirs*. — ED.

with the Intendant of *Chefneau*, and the supreme Council, and drawing up Accusations against him which had the desired effect; though now the King shews that he is undeceiv'd, by reinstating that Gentleman once more in this Government.<sup>1</sup> In the mean time the Statesmen of the Country that are most guilty, know not how to dress this kettle of Fish; for they make no question but the New Governour will retain a just resentment of what's past. But the Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Inhabitants, are making preparations for solemnising his Arrival, which they expect with as much impatience, as the *Jews* do the *Messias*. The very Savages that live in the skirts of the Colony, shew an uncommon Joy upon the hopes of his return: And indeed, we need not think it strange, for that Governour drew Esteem and Veneration, not only from the *French*, but from all the Nations of this vast Continent, who look'd upon him as their Guardian Angel. Mr. *de Denonville* begins to pack up his Baggage, and that in effect, [151] is all I can say of him. 'Tis none of my business to meddle with an infinity of Affairs, that relate to the Gentleman's private Interest. As to the question, whether he has manag'd well or ill, during the course of his Government, or whether he was lov'd or hated, I know nothing of the matter.

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<sup>1</sup> Jacques Duchesneau, sieur de la Doussinière, was chosen (1675) successor of Talon in the Canadian intendency. Almost from the first he maligned Count Frontenac, and supported the Jesuit party in opposition. The king, losing patience at their complaints, recalled both Frontenac and Duchesneau May 10, 1682. In the crisis of affairs in New France, Frontenac was sent back (1689) as the one man capable of meeting the difficulties. — Ed.

I am at a loss to know whether he kept a good or a sorry Table, for indeed I was never at it. Adieu.

I make account to set out for *Rochel*, when the Vessel that brings our new Governour, returns for *France*. I am,

S I R,

*Yours, &c.*

## LETTER XVIII.

Dated at *Quebec* November 15. 1689.

*Giving an Account of Mr. de Frontenac's Arrival, his Reception, his Voyage to Monreal, and the repairing of Fort Frontenac.*

SIR,

THE Intelligence you give me of the adjudging of the Lands of *Labontan*, would have drove me to despair; if you had not assur'd me at the same time, that I might recover it after a Century of years, (if I had the misfortune to live so long) upon the condition of reimbursing to the Possessor, the Sum that he pay'd for it, and of proving that I was actually in the Kings Service in the remote parts of the World, when that Estate was sold. To speak to the purpose, Mr. *de Frontenac* has [152] countermanded the leave I had to go for *France*, and has offer'd me a free access to his Pocket and his Table. All the Arguments I offer'd, have no Influence upon him, and so I am bound to obey.

This new Governour arriv'd at *Quebec* the 15<sup>th</sup> of *October*. He came on shoar at eight a Clock at Night, and was receiv'd by the Supreme Council, and all the Inhabitants in Arms, with Flambeau's both in the City, and upon the Harbour, with a triple Discharge of the great and small Guns, and Illuminations in all the Windows of the City. That same

Night he was complimented by all the Companies of the Town, and above all, by the Jesuits, who upon that occasion made a very pathetick Speech, though the Heart had less hand in it, than the Mouth. The next day he was visited by all the Ladies, whose inward joy appear'd in their Countenances, as much as in their Words. Several Persons made Fireworks, while the Governour and his Retinue sung *Te Deum* in the great Church. These solemn Demonstrations of Joy, increas'd from day to day, till the new Governour set out for *Monreal*; and the Conduct of the People upon this Head, afforded signal proofs of the satisfaction they had in his return, and of their resting assur'd, that his wise Conduct, and noble Spirit, would preserve the Repose and Tranquility that he always kept up, during his first ten years Government. All the World ador'd him, and styl'd him *Redemptor Patriæ*; to which Title he had a just claim, for all the Inhabitants of these Colonies agree, that when he came first to *Canada*, he found all things in Confusion and Distress. At that time the *Iroquese* had burnt all the Plantations, and cut the Throats of some thousands of the *French*; the Farmer was knock'd on the Head in his Field; the Traveller was murder'd upon the Road, and the Merchant ruin'd for want of Commerce: All the Planters were pinch'd with Famine, [153] the War render'd the Country desolate; and in a word, New-France had infallibly perish'd, if this Governour had not made that Peace with the *Barbarians*, that I spoke of in my fifth Letter. The bringing of that Peace to bear, was an action of greater Importance, than you can well imagine; for these *Barbarians*



grounded all their Wars upon a perſonal Enmity, whereas the *European* Ruptures depend more upon Intereſt than upon pure Revenge.

Mr. *de St. Valiers* the Biſhop of *Quebec*, arriv'd likewiſe on the 15<sup>th</sup> at the ſame Port. He had imbarqu'd in the preceding Spring, on board of a Bark that he had hir'd to tranſport him to *Acadia*, to *Newfound-land*, and to the other Countries of his Dioceſe. Mr. *de Frontenac* our Governour, ſet out for *Monreal* in a Canow, four or five days after his Arrival; and I had the honour to accompany him. All Indeavours were us'd to diſſwade him from undertaking that Voyage, when the ſeaſon was ſo cold, and ſo far advanc'd: For, as I inform'd you before, the Ice is thicker and ſtronger here in *Octob.* than 'tis at *Paris* in *January*; which, is very ſtrange. Notwithſtanding all the Remonſtrances drawn from the Hardſhips and Inconveniencies of the Voyage, he ſlighted the Fatigues of the Water, and threw himſelf into a Canow in the fixty eighth year of his Age. Nay, he took the abdication of Fort *Frontenac* ſo much to Heart, that he had gone ſtraight thither, if the Nobility, the Prieſts, and the Inhabitants of *Monreal*, had not intreated him with joynt Supplications, not to expoſe his Perſon to the danger of the Falls and Cataracts that lie in that Paſſage. In the mean time ſome Gentlemen of *Canada*, follow'd by a hundred *Coueurs de Bois*, under the command of Mr. *Mantet*, ventur'd upon the Voyage, with intent to learn the State of the Fort. I acquainted you in my laſt Letter, that Mr. *de Valrenes* had blown up the Walls of the Fort, when [154] he made his Retreat; but by good luck, the damage was

not so great as 'twas took to be; for the Party commanded by Mr. *Mantet*, have already rear'd up the ruinous Wall to the height of some Fathoms, and will continue to work upon the repair of the Fort all this Winter.<sup>1</sup> This News Mr. *de Frontenac* receiv'd last Night, which was the sixth after his return to this City.

I had forgot to tell you that he brought with him out of *France*, some of those *Iroquese* that Mr. *de Denonville* had sent to the Gallies, as I intimated in my thirteenth Letter; the rest having perish'd in their Chains. Of all these unfortunate *Barbarians* that he has brought back, the most considerable is one that goes by the name of *Oreouabè*. He was not us'd as a Galley Slave, in regard that he was the Leader of the *Goyoguan*s, and the Governour has lodg'd him in the Castle, in consideration of the esteem he shews both for Mr. *de Frontenac*, and for the *French* Nation. Some flatter themselves with the hopes, that some Accommodation with the five *Iroquese* Nations may be effected by his Mediation; and for that end propofals of Peace are now in agitation: But I have three good reasons for predicting, that such a Design will prove abortive.<sup>2</sup> I have already laid these Reasons before Mr.

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<sup>1</sup> Nicholas d'Ailleboust, sieur de Mantet (Mantz, Manteht), belonged to a prominent Canadian family, being grandson of one of the founders of Montreal. Like other promising young men he took to wood-ranging; becoming an associate of DuLuth, he acquired much influence with the Indians of the Northwest. Frontenac employed him upon raiding parties, and he was first to enter Schenectady (1690). His latter years were spent in trading in the upper country, where he is last mentioned in 1709. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Oureahé (Ourehaoué) was a Cayuga war chief, who had been sent to France through Denonville's treachery. Frontenac had won his good will on the return

*de Frontenac*, who gave me to know, that after the departure of the Ships, he would discourse me upon that Head. I shall not offer at the particulars of his Interview, with Monsieur and Madam *de Denonville*; till such time as you and I have an opportunity of talking under the Rose. Some Officers accompany Mr. *Denonville* and his Lady to *France*, in hopes of being prefer'd. In all probability the Ships will set sail to Morrow, for we have now a fair and gentle Westerly Gale; besides, that the season for quitting this Port, is almost spent. I am,

S I R,      Yours, &c.

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voyage, and employed him in negotiations with the Iroquois. On the ill-success of these first efforts see Parkman, *Frontenac*, pp., 194-207. The chief, however, continued to serve the French, and was rewarded with the pay of a captain until his death in the early eighteenth century. — ED.

## [155] LETTER XIX.

Dated at *Monreal* October 2. 1690.

*Relating the Attempts upon New-England and New-York; a fatal Embassy sent by the French to the Iroquese; and an ill-concerted Interprize of the English and the Iroquese, in marching by Land to Attack the French Colony.*

SIR,

ABOUT fifteen days since a Ship of *Rochel* laden with Wine and Brandy, arriv'd in this Harbour; and the Captain took care to convey a Letter from you to my Hands. As to your desire of having a circumstantial Account of the Trade of *Canada*, I cannot satisfy it at present, for I am not as yet so thoroughly acquainted with all its Branches. But I assure you, that some time or other I shall send you such Memoirs, as will give you satisfaction upon that Head. In the mean time, I hope you'll be contented with an account of what pass'd in this Country since the date of my last.

As soon as Mr. *Denonville* set out from *Quebec*, upon his return to *France*, Mr. *de Frontenac* took possession of the Fort, which is the common Residence of our Governour-General; and order'd one of our best Architects to make preparations for rebuilding it as soon as he could.

In the beginning of this year, Mr. *d'Iberville* attempted to

pillage a small Village in New-York, call'd by the *Iroquefe Corlar*; which name they likewise give to all the Governours of that *English* Colony. [156] This Gentleman, who is a *Canadese*, was attended by five hundred *Coueurs de Bois*, and the like number of Savages; and the whole Party made the Expedition over Snow and Ice, notwithstanding they had three hundred Leagues to march backward and forward, and that the Roads were very rugged and troublefome. Mr. *d'Iberville* met with wonderful Succes, for after he had pillag'd, burnt, and sack'd that little Village, with the adjacent Cantons, he fell in with a Party of an hundred *Iroquefe*, and defeated 'em intirely.<sup>1</sup> Much about the same time Mr. *de Portneuf*, another *Canada* Gentleman, march'd out at the Head of three hundred Men, one half Savages, and the other half *Coueurs de Bois*, with intent to possess himself of a Fort belonging to the *English*, call'd *Kenebeki*, which stands upon the Sea-Coast of *New-England*, towards the Frontiers of *Acadia*. The Garrison of this Fort made a brave defence: But there being great quantities of Granado's and other Fire-works thrown in upon 'em,

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<sup>1</sup> St. Hélène and Mantet were the leaders of this expedition, which numbered only about two hundred men, not a thousand. Iberville was one of the officers. See *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, pp. 466-469. The Iroquois party who pursued the victors were not routed, but defeated the rear of the French forces.

Pierre Le Moynes, sieur d'Iberville, was one of the most remarkable of early Canadians, and has been called "The Cid of Canada." Born in 1661, the third son of Charles le Moynes, sieur de Longueuil (see p. 74, note 1, *ante*), he early joined the French navy. His first exploits were in Hudson Bay, where he captured the English forts and vessels. In 1692 he served against the English in Acadia and Newfoundland. After the Peace of Ryswick (1697) he turned his attention to the Mississippi, and led the expedition which founded Louisiana (1699). He attacked the English fleet in the West Indies (1706), dying in July of the same year at Havana. — ED.

while the Savages (contrary to their Custom) scal'd the Palisadoes on all hands, the Governour was oblig'd to surrender upon Discretion. 'Tis said, that in this Action the *Coueurs de Bois* did their duty very bravely, but the Enterprize had prov'd succeßsleß without the assistance of the Savages.<sup>1</sup>

As soon as the Rivers were navigable, Mr. *de Frontenac* offer'd to send me with Proposals of Peace to the *Iroquefe*. But I made answer, that since his Pocket and his Table had been free to me during the Winter, I could not imagine that he had a mind to be rid of me so soon. Being oblig'd by this reply to unfold my meaning, I remonstrated to him, That, the King of *England* having lost his Crown, and War being proclaim'd, the Governours of *New-England* and *New-York*, would infallibly use their utmost Efforts to excite these Bandito's to redouble their Incurßions; that for that end they would furnish [157] 'em with Ammunition *gratis*, and even joyn 'em in order to attack our Towns; and above all, that the Intrigue of the *Rat* had so provok'd 'em, that in my opinion, 'twas impossible to appease 'em. Upon these Considerations, I humbly beseech'd him to have some other Person in his view, in case he

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<sup>1</sup> The French version of this attack upon Fort Loyal, on the present site of Portland, Maine, is found in *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, pp. 472, 473. Lahontan has, as usual, exaggerated the number of the attacking party. For the narrative of the British captain, Sylvanus Davis, see *Mass. Hist. Colls.*, 3d series, i, pp. 101-112.

Jacques Robineau, sieur de Portneuf, belonged to the early Canadian noblesse, and was employed as an officer in the Indian and English wars. In 1687 he acted as lieutenant under Denonville. After this attack on Fort Loyal, he served in Acadia, where his brother Villebon was governor, and for several years led raiding parties against the Maine settlements. He died at Quebec in 1715. The flag captured at Fort Loyal hung for many years in the basilica at Quebec. — ED.

persisted in his design of making a Trial of that Nature.<sup>1</sup> The Chevalier *Do* was singled out for this fatal Embassy, being attended by one *Colin*, as Interpreter of the *Iroquese* Language, and two young *Canadans*. They set out in a Canow, and when they came in sight of the Village of the *Onnontagues*, were receiv'd with the honourable Salvo of several good blows, and conducted with the same Ceremony to the Village. Such a Retinue could not but be disagreeable to the Gentleman that came to make offers of a Peace. The ancient Men being quickly assembled, thought it most proper to send 'em back with a favourable Answer, and in the mean time to engage some of the *Agnies* and *Onnoyotes*, to lye in wait for 'em at the Cataracts of the River, and there kill two, sending the third back to *Quebec*, and carrying the fourth to their Village, where there would be found some *English* that would shoot 'em, that is, that would give 'em the same usage as the *Rat* did to their Ambassadors: So true it is, that that Action sticks in their stomachs. This Project had actually been put in execution, if it had not been for some of the Planters of *New-York*, who were then among the *Barbarians*, having come thither on purpose to animate 'em against us. These Planters knew so well how to influence the *Barbarians* that were already bent upon Revenge; that a Company of young *Barbarians* burnt 'em all alive, excepting the Chevalier *Do*, whom they tied Hand and Foot, and sent him bound to *Boston*, with a design to pump out of him, a view of the condition of our

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<sup>1</sup> The French version indicates that Lahontan had been ill, and used his weakness as a plea to be excused from this hazardous embassy. — Ed.

Colonies and Forces.<sup>1</sup> This piece of News [158] we receiv'd two Months after, by some Slaves that made their escape from the *Iroquese*; and Mr. *de Frontenac*, when surpris'd with such dismal News, declar'd, that out of twenty Captains that offer'd to execute that Commission, and would have taken the Employment for an Honour, I was the only one that had been capable of foreseeing its bad Success.

June the 24<sup>th</sup>, I imbarqu'd for this place in a sluggish Brigantine, that the Captain of the Governour's Guards had caus'd to be built the foregoing Winter. This venerable Vessel had the honour to lodge the Intendant and his Lady; and all of us being in no haste, spent ten or twelve days by the way, and feasted like Kings every Night. Mr. *de Frontenac* mark'd out a Fort in his passage to the City of *Trois Rivières*, which I spoke of before. Fifteen days after our arrival in this place, a certain Savage whose name was *Plake*, came and gave us notice, that he had discover'd a Body of a thousand *English*, and five hundred *Iroquese* that march'd up to attack us.<sup>2</sup> Upon this Intelligence, all our Troops cross'd over to

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<sup>1</sup> This account of the embassy of Chevalier Pierre d'Aux (Do), sieur de Jolliet, is substantially correct. He was a prisoner both in Boston and New York until August, 1692, when having escaped he made his way to Canada in time to furnish Count Frontenac with useful information relative to the English plans. The governor thereupon sent him to France to give an account of the situation of Boston and New York, "and how easily they may be taken." He returned to New France the following year, and then disappears from history. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> La Plaque, nephew of the Great Mohawk (called by the Dutch, Kryn), chief of the praying Indians of Sault St. Louis mission, was useful to the French during Frontenac's War (1689-97). After having given notice of this intended invasion, he set out the following year (1691) to capture prisoners and secure information, which undertaking proved so successful that he was sent to France to report. After



the Meadow of *Madelaine*, opposite to this City, and there incamp'd, in conjunction with three or four hundred Savages that were our Allies, in order to give the Enemy a warm Reception.<sup>1</sup> Our Camp was no sooner form'd, than Mr. *de Frontenac* detach'd two or three small Parties of the Savages to observe the Enemy. These Parties came soon back, after having surpris'd some stragling *Iroquese* at hunting on the Confines of *Champlaine* Lake: The Prisoners inform'd us, that the *English* being unable to encounter the fatigues of the march, and unprovided with a sufficient stock of Provisions, both they and the *Iroquese* were return'd to their own Country.<sup>2</sup> This account being confirm'd by other Savages, our Troops decamp'd, and march'd back to this place, from whence I was detach'd [159] some days after to command a Party that was to cover the Reapers of Fort *Roland*, which lies in this Island.<sup>3</sup> When the Harvest was over I return'd to

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his return he continued to serve the French, on two occasions (1692, 1693) leading war parties nearly to the gates of Albany. — ED.

<sup>1</sup> La Prairie de la Madeleine is six miles above Montreal, on the opposite side of the river. This was supposed to be the point at which the expedition would emerge, coming by way of Lake Champlain and Richelieu River. A small division did attack this point after Frontenac's return to Quebec, carrying off several prisoners. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> This was part of the expedition fitted out by the British colonies for the capture of Canada. The troops of New York and Connecticut rendezvoused at Wood Creek, on Lake Champlain, under command of General Winthrop of Connecticut; but illness, lack of provisions, and the lukewarm attitude of their Iroquois allies, made it necessary to abandon the attack. See Winthrop's "Journal," in *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, iv, pp. 193-197. — ED.

<sup>3</sup> Fort Rolland was built (1670) on the site of the present Lachine, to protect the trading houses of François le Noir, *dit* Rolland, who carried on a large traffic with the Western Indians. During Frontenac's War, it was regularly garrisoned by detachments of soldiers. For full details, see Girouard, *Lake St. Louis*, pp. 70-75. — ED.

this place, along with the *Hurons* and the *Outaouas*, who had come down from their own Country, in purfuit of their ufual Trade in Skins, an account of which you had in my eight Letter. Thefe Traders continued here fifteen days, and then march'd home.<sup>1</sup>

This, Sir, is a Summary of all our Occurrences of Moment fince the laft year. About fifteen days hence, I think to fet out for *Quebec*, in Mr. *de Frontenac*'s Brigantin. I conclude with my ufual Complement,

S I R,

*Yours, &c.*

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<sup>1</sup> The descent of the Northwest Indians for trade this year (1690) was an encouraging circumstance for New France. See *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, pp. 478-490; Parkman, *Frontenac*, pp. 252-255. — ED.

## LETTER XX.

Dated at *Rochel* January 12. 1691.

*Being a Relation of a second and very important Expedition of the English by Sea; in which is contain'd a Letter written by the English Admiral to the Count of Frontenac, with this Governour's Verbal Answer. As also an account of the Autbour's departure for France.*

SIR,

I AM arriv'd at last at *Rochel*, from whence I now transmit you a Relation of all that pass'd in *Canada*, since the date of my last Letter. In the space of a few days after that date, Mr. *de Frontenac* receiv'd advice that a strong Fleet of *English* [160] Ships, amounting to thirty four Sail, was seen near *Tadoussac*.<sup>1</sup> Immediately he got on board of his Brigantine, and order'd all the Troops to imbarque in Canows and Boots, and to row Night and Day to prevent the Enemy; all which was happily put in execution. At the same time he gave orders to Mr. *de Callieres*, to bring down as many of the Inhabitants as possibly he could. We row'd with such expedition, and diligence, that we arriv'd the 3d day at *Quebec*. As

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<sup>1</sup> The first report of the approach of the English Fleet reached Frontenac through an Abenaki Indian, who had travelled overland with the tidings. The governor gave this news scant credence until fishing vessels announced the progress of the fleet as far up as Tadoussac. For a brief but succinct account, see *Jes. Rel.*, lxiv, pp. 41-53. — ED.

soon as Mr. *de Frontenac* debarqued, he view'd the weakest Posts, and order'd 'em to be fortified without loss of time: He rais'd Batteries in several places, and though in that capital City we had but twelve great Guns, and but little Ammunition, yet he seem'd to be resolutely bent upon an obstinate Resistance to the efforts of the Enemy's Fleet, which in the mean time stood catching of Flies, at the distance of two Leagues from *Quebec*. We took the advantage of their slow approaches, and work'd incessantly to put our selves in a posture of defence. Our Troops, our Militia, and our confederate Savages, came up to us on all hands. 'Tis certain, that if the *English* Admiral had made his Descent before our arrival at *Quebec*, or even two days after, he had carry'd the place without striking a blow; for at that time there was not two hundred *French* in the City, which lay open, and expos'd on all hands.<sup>1</sup> But instead of doing that, he cast Anchor towards the point of the Island of *Orleans*, and lost three days in consulting with the Captains of the Ships, before they came to a Resolution. He took the *Sieur Joliet* with his Lady and his Mother-in-Laws in a Bark in the River of *St. Laurence*.<sup>2</sup> Three Merchant-men from *France*, and one laden with Beaver-

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<sup>1</sup> All authorities apparently agree with Lahontan's judgment, that the capital fault of the English commander was his waste of time. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Lahontan is the only contemporary authority who includes Joliet himself in the list of prisoners. Probably it was only his wife and mother-in-law, who were captured on their way to their seigniory of Anticosti, with M. de Grandville. Louis Joliet, the famous explorer, was born in Quebec in 1645. Losing his father at an early age, he was reared by the Jesuits. In 1667 he visited France, and the following year organized his first trading and exploring expedition to the Great Lakes, whither he again went, 1670-71. His success brought him a commission to discover the

Skins from *Hudson Bay*, enter'd the River of *Saguenay*, by the way of *Tadoussac*, where they sculk'd, and after hauling their Guns ashoar, rais'd very good Batteries. [161] To be shoft, the Officers of the Enemy's Fleet came to a Resolution after the los of three or four days in uselefs Consultations, during which time we were joyn'd on all hands by great numbers of Inhabitants and Soldiers. Pursuant to the resolution of the Councils of War, the *English* Admiral, namely, Sir *William Phips*, sent out his Sloop with a *French* Flag upon its Prow, which made up to the City with found of Trumpet.<sup>1</sup> Upon

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Mississippi, which he accomplished in company with the Jesuit missionary Marquette (1673). Upon his return in July, 1674, Jolliet lost all of his papers by having his canoe swamped in the descent of Lachine Rapids. The following year he married Claire Françoise Bissot, who brought him property on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, where in 1679, he acquired Isles Mingan, and Anticosti a year later. In the former year, he visited Hudson Bay, via the Saguenay and Lake St. John, and was cordially received by the English. Labrador was explored by him in 1694, his death occurring six years later. For the latest research concerning Jolliet, see Gagnon, "Louis Jolliet," in *La Revue Canadienne*, 1900-1902.

Jolliet's mother-in-law was Marie Couillard, who after the death (1675) of Bissot, her first husband, married Jacques de Lalande. She was a woman of much force and ability, and according to other authorities suggested to Phips the exchange of prisoners, and to effect it went in person to Frontenac. She was a sister-in-law of Jean Nicolet, the explorer, and one of her sons was Sieur de Vincennes, an officer of note in the Western country. — ED.

<sup>1</sup>Sir William Phips was born in Pemaquid (Bristol), Maine, in 1651. He was the son of a poor colonist, and tended sheep until he was eighteen years of age, then learned the trade of a ship carpenter. Going to Boston, he there married a wealthy widow, who taught him to read and write. On a visit to England, he secured a commission to search for wrecked Spanish treasure-ships in the West Indies. After one unsuccessful attempt (1684), he raised in 1687 silver and plate amounting to £300,000. For this service knighthood was conferred upon him, and he returned to Massachusetts to lead an expedition which captured Port Royal (May, 1690). After the failure of the Quebec investment, Phips was somewhat discredited, but in 1692 he was appointed governor of Massachusetts, which office he held until his death in London, in 1695. — ED.

this, Mr. *de Frontenac* sent out another with a *French* Officer to meet it, who found an *English* Major in the Sloop, who gave him to understand, that he had the charge of a Letter from his General, to the Governour of *Canada*, and hop'd he might be allow'd to deliver it himself. Upon that the *French* Officer took him into his Sloop, and having blindfolded him, conducted him to the Governour's Chamber; where his Face being uncover'd, he deliver'd him a Letter, the substance of which was this.

'I Sir *William Phips*, General of the Forces of *New-England*, by Sea and Land, to Count *Frontenac*, Governour General of *Quebec*, by Orders from, and in the name of *William III* and *Mary King* and Queen of *England*; am come to make my self Master of this Country. But in regard that I have nothing so much in view, as the preventing of the effusion of Blood, I require you to surrender at discretion, your Cities, Castles, Forts, Towns, as well as your Persons; assuring you at the same time, that you shall meet with all manner of good Usage, Civility and Humanity. If you do not accept of this Proposal without any Restriction, I will endeavour, by the assistance of Heaven, on which I rely, and the force of my Arms, to make a Conquest of 'em. I expect a positive answer in writing in the space of an Hour, and in the mean time give you notice, that after [162] the commencement of Hostilities, I shall not entertain any thoughts of Accommodation.

Sign'd, *William Phips*.

After the Interpreter had translated the Letter to Mr. *de Frontenac*, who was then surrounded with Officers; he order'd the Captain of his Guards to make a Gibbet before the Fort, in order to hang the poor Major, who in all appearance understood *French*; for upon the pronouncing of this fatal Sentence, he was like to swoon away. And indeed I must say, the Major had some reason to be affected, for he had certainly been hang'd, if the Bishop and the Intendant, who to his good luck were then present, had not interceded on his behalf. Mr. *de Frontenac* pretended, that they were a Fleet of Pyrates, or of Persons without Commission, for that the King of *England* was then in *France*. But at last the Governour being appeas'd, order'd the Major to repair forthwith on board of his Admiral, against whom he could defend himself the better, for not being attack'd. At the same time he declar'd, that he knew no other King of *Great Britain*, than *James II*, that his rebellious Subjects were Pyrates, and that he dreaded neither their Force nor their Threats. This said, he threw Admiral *Phips's* Letter in the Major's face, and then turn'd his Back upon him. Upon that the poor Ambassadour took fresh courage, and looking upon his Watch, took the liberty to ask Mr. *de Frontenac*, if he could not have his Answer in Writing before the hour elaps'd. But the Governour made answer with all the haughtiness and disdain imaginable, that his Admiral deserv'd no other answer, than what flew from the Mouth of Cannons and Muskets. These words were no sooner pronounc'd than the Major was forc'd to take his

Letter again, and being blind-folded, was reconducted to his Sloop, in which he row'd towards the Fleet with all expedition.

[163] The next day about two in the Afternoon, sixty Sloops were sent ashore with ten or twelve hundred Men, who stood upon the Sand in very good order. After that the Sloops went back to the Ships, and brought ashore the like Compliment of Men, which was afterwards joyn'd by a third Complement of the same number. As soon as these Troops were landed, they began to march towards the City with Drums beating, and Colours flying. This Descent was made over against the Isle of *Orleans*, about a League and a half below *Quebec*; but 'twas not so expeditious, but that our Confederate Savages, with two hundred *Coueurs de Bois*, and fifty Officers, had time to post themselves in a Copse of thick Brambles, which lay half a League off the place of Landing. It being impossible for so small a Party to come to an open Battle with a numerous Enemy, they were forc'd to fight after the manner of the Savages, that is, to lay Ambuscadoes from place to place in the Copse, which was a quarter of a League broad. This way of waging War prov'd wonderfully successful to us, for our Men being posted in the middle of the Copse, we suffer'd the *English* to enter, and then fir'd upon 'em, lying flat upon the ground till they fir'd their pieces; after which we sprung up, and drawing into knots here and there, repeated our fire with such success, that the *English* Militia perceiving our Savages fell into confusion and disorder, and their Battalions were broke; insomuch, that



they betook themselves to flight, crying out, *Indians, Indians*, and gave our Savages the opportunity of making a bloody slaughter among 'em, for we found three hundred Men left upon the spot, without any other loss on our side, than that of ten *Coureurs de Bois*, four Officers, and two Savages.

The next day the *English* landed four pieces of brass Cannon mounted like Field-pieces, and fought [164] very bravely, though they were very ill disciplin'd. 'Tis certain there was no want of Courage on their side, and their want of Success must be imputed to their unacquaintedness with Military Discipline, to their being infeebl'd by the fatigues of the Sea, and to the ill conduct of Sir *William Phips*, who upon this Enterprize could not have done more than he did, if he had been engag'd by us to stand still with his hands in his Pockets. This day pass'd over more peaceably than the next: For then the *English* made a fresh attempt to force their passage through the Copse, by the help of their Artillery; but they lost three or four hundred more in the attempt, and were forc'd to retire with all diligence to the Landing-place: On our side we lost Mr. *de St. Helene*, who dy'd of a wound in his Leg, and about forty *French-men* and Savages. This Victory animated us so much, that we pursued the *English* to their Camp, and lay all Night flat upon the ground just by it, with a design to attack it by the break of day: But they sav'd us the labour, for they imbarqued about Midnight with such confusion, that we kill'd fifty more of 'em, rather by chance, than by dexterity, while they were getting into their Boats. When day came, we transported to *Quebec* their Tents and

their Cannon, which they had left behind 'em ; the Savages being in the mean time imploy'd in stripping the dead in the Wood.

The same day that the Descent was made, Sir *William Phips* weigh'd and came to an Anchor with four great Ships, at the distance of a Musket-shot from the lower City, where we had only one Battery of six or eight Pounders. There he Cannonadoed for twenty four hours so handsomely, that the fire of the great Guns equal'd that of the small Arms. The damage they did to the roofs of the Houses, amounted to five or six Pistoles ; for as I inform'd you in my first Letter, the Walls of the Houses are so hard, that a Ball cannot pierce 'em.

[165] When Sir *William Phips* had made an end of these glorious Exploits, he sent to demand of Mr. *de Frontenac* some English Prisoners in exchange for the *Sieur Joliet*, with his Wife and his Mother, and some Seamen ; which was forthwith put in execution. This done, the Fleet weigh'd Anchor and steer'd homeward.<sup>1</sup> As soon as the three Merchantmen that lay sculking in the River of *Saguenay*, saw the Fleet running below *Tadoussac* with full Sail before a Westerly Gale, they put their Guns aboard, and pursuing their Voyage with great satisfaction, arriv'd at *Quebec* on the 12th of November. They had scarce put their Cargo on shoar, when the bitter cold cover'd the River with Ice, which dammag'd their Ships so much, that

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<sup>1</sup> There exist many contemporaneous accounts of Phips's expedition. Myrand, *Sir William Phips devant Quebec* (Quebec, 1893), has collected nineteen from archives, with all the details of participants. He accuses Lahontan of exaggerating the numbers of English taking part and wounded in the land battles, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-276. For the rest, however, Lahontan's account is substantially correct. — ED.

they were forc'd to run 'em ashoar. This troublesom Frost was as uneasie to me, as to Mr. *de Frontenac*; for I then saw that I was oblig'd to pass another Winter in *Canada*, and Mr. *de Frontenac* was at a loss, to contrive a way of sending the King advice of this Enterprize. But by good luck, there came all of a sudden a downfall of Rain, which was follow'd by a Thaw, and was equally acceptable to us both. Immediately the Governour order'd an unrigg'd Frigate to be rigg'd and fitted out; which was done accordingly with such dispatch, that the Ballast, Sails, Ropes, and Masts, were all in order almost as soon as the Orders were given out. When the Frigate was ready to sail, the Governour told me, that the making of *France* as soon as ever I could, would be a piece of important Service; and that I ought rather to perish, than to suffer myself to be taken by the Enemy, or to put in at any Port whatsoever by the way. At the same time he gave me a particular Letter to Mr. *de Seignelay*, the purport of which was much to my advantage.

I put to Sea the 20th of *November*, the like of which was never seen in that place before. At the Isle of *Coudres* we 'scap'd luckily, for there the [166] North-East Wind blew so hard upon us, that after we had drop'd Anchor, we thought to have been split in pieces in the Night-time. The rest of our passage was good enough, for we encounter'd but one Storm till we arriv'd at this place. Indeed we met with contrary Winds, about 150 Leagues off the coast of *France*, which oblig'd us to traverse, and lye by for a long time, and 'twas for this reason that our passage was so long.

I hear you are now in *Provence*, and that Mr. *de Seignelai* is gone upon a Voyage to the other World, which is of a quite different nature from that I have just perform'd. In earnest, Sir, his Death is the last misfortune to the Navy of *France*, to the Colonies of the two *America's*, and to me in particular, since Mr. *de Frontenac's* Recommendatory Letter is thereby render'd useleſs to me. I am,

S I R, Yours, &c.

## LETTER XXI.

Dated at *Rochel* July 26. 1691.

*Containing a Description of the Courts or Offices of the Ministers of State, and a view of some Services that are ill rewarded at Court.*

SIR,

THE Letter you writ to me two Months agoe came to my Hands at *Paris*; but I could not give you an answer there, because I had not then done my business. Now that I am return'd to *Rochel*, I have leisure time enough to inform you of all that befell me since my return to *France*. As soon as I arriv'd at *Versailles*, I waited upon Mr. *de Pontchartrain*, [167] who succeeded Mr. *de Seignelai*. I represented to him, that Mr. *de Frontenac* had given me a Letter to his Predecessour, in which he took notice of the Services I had done. I remonstrated to him, that my Estate being seiz'd upon, and there being several Law-suits to be adjusted, where my presence was necessary, I hop'd his Majesty would give me leave to quit his Service. He made answer, that he had been inform'd of the state of my Affairs, and that I was allow'd to pursue the management of 'em, till the departure of the last Ships that are bound this year for *Quebec*, to which place he mean'd I should return. Having receiv'd this answer, I went from *Versailles* to

*Paris*, where my Relations drew me into a consultation of several Counsellors, who declar'd that my Affairs were so perplex'd, that in their opinion, I could not have 'em adjusted in so short a time. In the mean time, the Crowns I was forc'd to lug out for this Consultation, turn'd my Stomach against the going to Law with Persons that had so much interest in the Parliament of *Paris*; infomuch, that I was almost in the mind of losing my Right, rather than to enter upon the Law-suit. However, I did not fail to put in for a provision upon my confiscated Estate, by vertue of my being actually in the Service. But the soliciting of that, cost me so much trouble and charges, that though my powerful Adversaries had not been able to prevent the obtaining of my request, yet the Sum adjudg'd thereupon, would not be sufficient to answer the charges I was at. *Messieurs de Bragelone*<sup>1</sup> are very honourable Gentlemen, as you know very well. 'Tis true, they love Pistoles better than their Relations, and upon that Principle contented themselves in doing me the honour of their good Advice, for their Generosity do's not go much further; and if I had no other refuge than theirs, I should be but in a sorry condition. The Abbot of *Ecouttes*,<sup>2</sup> who is more liberal, [168] tho' not so rich as they, made me a Present of a hundred *Louis d'ors*, which I applied to the payment of the Fees, for being receiv'd into the Order of *St. Lazarus*. The Ceremony

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<sup>1</sup> Lahontan belonged to the Gascon family of Bragelonne, one member of which had been of the Company of One Hundred Associates, that founded the colony of New France. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> The Abbé de Couttes, who was an uncle of Lahontan, being a brother of his mother, was an ecclesiastic well known at the court of Louis XIV. — ED.

of that Installment was perform'd in Mr. *de Louvois* his Chamber, and did not last so long as the telling of the Money.<sup>1</sup> I was in hopes that this generous Abbot would have bestow'd upon me some simple Benefice that he might have thrown in my way, without injuring himself: But it seems, a scruple of Conscience stood my Enemy. Upon the whole, Sir, I was e'en forc'd at last to go to *Verfailles* to solicit for a Place, which is the most cutting and vexatious Office in the World. Do but consider, Sir, that in those Royal Apartments Crowns fly, and no body knows where they go. One must patiently attend five or six hours a day in Mr. *de Pontchartrain's* Apartments, only to shew himself every time that that Minister goes out or comes in.

He no sooner appears, than every one crowds in to present Memorials clogg'd with fifty Reasons, which commonly fly off as light as the Wind. As soon as he receives these Petitions, he gives 'em to some Secretary or other that follows him; and this Secretary carries 'em to Messieurs *de la Touche*, *de Begon*, and *de Saluberri*; whose Footmen receive Pistoles from most of the Officers, who without that Expedient, would be in danger of catching cold at the Door of the Office of these Deputies. 'Tis from that expedient alone, that their good or bad destiny must flow. Pray undeceive your self, as to your

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<sup>1</sup> St. Lazare was one of the military orders founded in the eleventh century, during the Crusades. It was rich and powerful, and had large property in Paris. In the seventeenth century it was amalgamated with the order of Mont Carmel, and Lahontan is sometimes known as chevalier of Notre Dame du Mont Carmel.

François Michel le Tellier, marquis de Louvois, was the great war minister of the reign of Louis XIV. Among other honors, he received in 1673 the office of vicar general of the orders of St. Lazare and Mont Carmel. — Ed.







notion of the protection of great Lords: The time is gone in which the Ministers granted whatever they ask'd for their Bastards, their Footmen, and their Vassals. There is but two or three Princes or Dukes, who being great Favourites, will meddle in protecting those that have no immediate dependance upon 'em: And if these do it, 'tis very [169] seldom; for you know that the Gentry of *France* is in no great Circumstances, and these great Lords have oftentimes poor Friends of their own, for whom they are oblig'd to ask places, in order to their Subsistence. As the World goes now, the Ministers are upon such a foot, that they'll refuse any thing to Persons of the highest Dignity about Court, by replying, the King will have it so, or the King will have it otherwise. And as for the Topick of Merit; that's such a frightful Monster, that it can have no Reception in the Ministers Offices, nay, most of the Ministers are struck with horror when they think of it. 'Tis the Ministers, in effect, that dispose of all places, though it appears as if 'twere the King. They do what they please, without being accountable to him, for he puts all upon the affection and zeal they ought to have for his Service. They carry Extracts to him, in which the merit of the Officers they mean to prefer, is either suppos'd or extoll'd. But the Memorials of those they do not like, are far from appearing.

I'm sorry I should be oblig'd to lay this truth before you; however, I mention no particular Minister, for they are not all of that kidney. I know some of 'em that would scorn to do the least injustice to any Man whatsoever; and would not suffer their Suisses, or their Lackeys, or even their Deputies

or Clerks, to intrigue for the preferment of such and such Persons by the means of Pistoles. These dexterous Intriguers, do by indirect means make more Officers, than you have hairs on your Head; and 'tis for that reason they are saluted a League off, and dignify'd as seriously with the Title of *Monseigneur*, as their Masters are with that of *Monseigneur* or *Grandeur*. These last Titles have been acquir'd by our Ministers and Secretaries of State, with as much glory, as by our Bishops. We must not think it strange therefore, that even our General Officers [170] have the words *Monseigneur* and *Grandeur* so frequently in their Mouths, provided it be accompany'd with that of your *Excellency*. I swear, Sir, I could find matter for a Book of three hundred Pages in Folio, if I had a mind to be particular upon the intrigues of the Officers and Ministers of State; upon the means by which the Solicitors compass their ends, the notorious Knavery of a certain sort of People, and the patience with which the Officers must be fortified; upon the contempt that those meet with, who have no other Recommendation than Merit, and in a word, upon all the instances of Injustice, that are practis'd without the King's knowledge.

Let it be as it will, I must acquaint you that after a fruitless Solicitation for what I thought I had some Title to, in consideration of my Services, I receiv'd this Answer, that the King would order Mr. *de Frontenac* to provide for me as handfomly as he could, when an occasion offer'd: So that I was forc'd to rest satisfi'd with my Answer, and resolve to continue a

Captain for ever; for I know very well that the Governour of *Canada* can not prefer me to a higher Post.<sup>1</sup>

Having left *Versailles*, I came hither with all expedition, and then went to receive the commands of the Intendant of *Rocheport*. He acquainted me that the Ship call'd *Honoré* was fitting up, and that I might sail as soon as 'twas ready. He recommended to me the Chevalier *de Meaupou*, Madam *Ponchartrain's* Nephew, who is to go along with me.<sup>2</sup> This Gentleman having the curiosity to see *Canada*, is come hither from *Paris*, with a handsom Retinue. 'Tis in vain to set forth to him the tediousness of the Passage, the inconveniencies of the Sea, and the disagreeableness of the Country; for all these Arguments serve only to inflame his Curiosity. The Count *d'Aunay* is to convoy us to the Latitude of Cape *Finisterre*, at which place [171] he is to take leave of us, and return to *Rocheport*. We only stay for a fair Wind to put to Sea. I am,

S I R,

*Yours, &c.*

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<sup>1</sup> The king, in addition to the bestowal of a military order, had already promoted Lahontan to a captaincy. See *Collection de Manuscrits de la Nouvelle France*, ii, p. 62. The governor of New France had no higher appointment in his power. Roy suggests that most young officers of that time would, at the age of twenty-five, have been content with such honors. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the Sieur de Maupeau, who was later president of inquests in the Parliament of Paris and whose son was chancellor, 1763–68. — ED.

## LETTER XXII.

Dated at *Quebec* Nov. 10. 1691.

*Which contains an Account of the Authors departure from Rochel to Quebec, of his Voyage to the Mouth of the River St. Laurence, of a Ren-counter he had with an English Ship which he fought; of the stranding of his Ship; of his sailing through the River St. Laurence; of the News he receiv'd, that a Party of the English and Iroqueſe had defeated a Body of the French Troops.*

SIR,

TWO days after I wrote to you, we ſet fail from the Harbour of *Rochel*, upon our great Voyage to *Canada*. On the 5th of *Auguſt* we perceiv'd a great Ship, which the Count of *Aunay* gave chafe to, who having a better Sailer, came up with her in three hours time, whereupon ſhe on a ſudden put up *Genoeſe* Colours. Some Guns were fir'd upon the Prow, to oblige her to ſtrike; but the Captain was ſo obſtinate, that Mr. *d'Aunay* was forc'd to give her a Broadſide, which kill'd four or five of the Seamen, whereupon the reſt were oblig'd to put out their Long-boat, and carry to his Ship their Paſſ-ports and Bills of Lading. On the 10th, after [172] they had taken the Latitude, the Pilots thinking that they were even with *Cape Finiſter*, Mr. *d'Aunay* ſent out his Long-boat, to

acquaint me that he was then upon his return home, upon which I wrote him a Letter of thanks. Father *Beschefer* a Jesuit, who had been many years Superior of the College of *Quebec*, whither he was now going in the same Capacity, was forc'd to throw himself into this Long-boat, in order to his return into *France*, having found himself continually indispos'd, from the first day we put to Sea.<sup>1</sup> On the 23d of *August* we had a great Storm of Wind from the North-West, which lasted about twenty four hours, being then a hundred Leagues off the Bank of *Newfound-Land*. *This Bank takes its Name from the Island of Newfoundland, a Map of which is here annex'd.*

When the Storm was over, there succeeded a Wind from the North-East, which drove us in ten or twelve hours, to the Mouth of the River of *St. Laurence*. On the 6th of *September* we discover'd a Ship sailing from the Coast of *Gaspè*, which bore down upon us with a full sail. We thought at first that they were *French* coming from *Quebec*, but their way of working the Ship discover'd to us within an hour after, that they were Enemies. After we knew them, we prepar'd to fight them, and they being about a League to the Windward of us, came quickly down upon us with full Sail, within Musket-shot. Presently they put up *English* Colours, and gave us a Broad-side; and we put up our own Colours, and paid them home in their own Coyn. The Fight lasted two hours, and both

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<sup>1</sup> Thierry Beschefer, Jesuit missionary, came to Canada in 1665, and was for several years stationed among the Iroquois. He had been superior of the Canadian missions since 1680, and in 1688 was prefect of the College of Quebec. After this mention by Lahontan, he disappears from Canadian history, but is thought to have died at Rheims in 1711. — ED.

fides fir'd continually one upon another, but the Sea being tempestuous, we were oblig'd to shear off as Night came on, without suffering any other los, than the wounding of two Seamen, and the receiving of twenty eight or thirty shot in our Mafts, Sails, and Rigging. Two days after we met Mr. *Duta*, Captain of the *Hazardous*, who was homeward bound for [173] *France*, being a Convoy to ten or twelve Merchant Ships. He gave me some Refreshments, and told me some news of *Canada*, which were very acceptable. We pursu'd our course in spite of the South-East Wind, which oblig'd us to tack about several ways, till we came to *Portneuf*, near to *Tadoussac*.<sup>1</sup> In this place we were stranded by the fault of the Coasting-Pilot, who being obstinate for casting Anchor near the Land, was like to have been the cause of a Shipwreck. At Midnight the Ship was so dash'd against the Sand, that I thought she was split in pieces, but the Tide ebbing by degrees, she was left lying upon the Coast, without any apparent Damage. I presently caus'd a Kedger to be dropt in the deep Water belag'd with several Ropes call'd *Grelins Episses* (*see the Explication Table*,)<sup>2</sup> and the next Morning the Tide returning set the Ship afloat, and then we haul'd it in with the Capstan. On the 13<sup>th</sup> we cast anchor near the *Red*

<sup>1</sup> The seigniory of Portneuf lay a league and a half along the St. Lawrence River northeast of Tadoussac, in the present County of Chicoutimi, where is now Portneuf River. The fief was founded in 1636, in favor of the family of Le Neuf de la Poterie; in 1671 it passed by marriage to the Robineau family, who remained barons de Portneuf until the conquest (1760). — ED.

<sup>2</sup> In the French edition of 1728, this term is explained as follows: *Grelins episses*, cables made fast end to end, interlaced and joined, one to the end of the other by means of iron bolts which are called "cornets d'episse" (spiked horns). — ED.

*Island*, and the next day being the 14<sup>th</sup>, we pass'd that Channel without danger, by the favour of a fresh Gale from the North-East.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> we cast Anchor at the *Isle of Hares*<sup>1</sup>: On the 16<sup>th</sup> we pass'd the *Isle of Coudres*: On the 17<sup>th</sup> we weather'd the Cape of *Tourmente*, and the next day we anchor'd in this Port. From the Mouth of the River to this place, we had the finest Sunshine days that ever were seen: During which time, I had both leisure and opportunity to view the Coasts on the right Hand and the left, while we tack'd about and about as the wind serv'd. When I saw a great many Rivers on the South side, I ask'd the Pilots why the Ships us'd to steer their course on the North side, where there is no Anchorage to be found, but at *Papinachese*, the seven *Isles*, and *Port-neuf*.<sup>2</sup> They answer'd me, that the ordinary Breezes of the rough North-West Wind, which blows upon this River for three quarters of a year, were [174] the true cause why they durst not go far from the North side; and that no body could ensure a Ship that should steer on the South side, except it were in the Months of *June*, *July*, and *August*. If it were not for that, I believe it would be more pleasant, more easie, and less dangerous to sail on the South, than on the North side,

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<sup>1</sup> Hare Island (*Isle au Lièvres*) lies in the River St. Lawrence west of Tadoussac. It was so named by Cartier (1545), because many hares were there captured on his voyage of discovery. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Seven Islands is a group lying near the northerly shore of the St. Lawrence, protecting a harbor now known as Seven Islands Bay. *Papinachois* is a small bay at the entrance of a river of that name, in Saguenay County, Quebec. It was named from a tribe of Montagnais Indians, and is said to signify, "I like to laugh a little." — ED.



because one might cast Anchor every Night at the entrance of those Rivers which discharge themselves all along that Coast, and would not be oblig'd to be veering about continually Night and Day, as he is forc'd to do, when he steers his course on the North side. This, Sir, is all I had to say at present about our sailing in this River, which I shall have occasion to mention to you again. After our Ship cast Anchor before *Quebec*, I landed with the Chevalier *Meaupou*, whom I conducted to the House of Mr. *Frontenac*, who offer'd to him as well as to me, the use of his Table and House. I am inform'd that 300 *English*, and 200 *Iroquese*, approach'd about two Months agoe to the Isle of *Monreal*; That the Governour of that Isle transported 15 Companies from the other side of the River, to watch their motions; That a Detachment of the Enemy having surpriz'd our Out-Guards, attack'd the whole Body of them, and our Camp at the same time with so much Vigour and Courage, that they kill'd upon the spot more than three hundred Soldiers, besides two Captains, six Lieutenants, and five Ensigns; and that after this fatal Expedition, Mr. *Valrenes*, a Captain of the Marines, set out for *Monreal*, with a Detachment of *French* and Savages, to go to Fort *Chambli*, (for fear the *Iroquese* should attack that Post) who having met in their passage a party of *English* and *Iroquese*, attack'd them vigourously, and defeated them.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This account refers to the raiding party sent out from Albany under Peter Schuyler in August, 1691. Schuyler's report is in *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, iii, pp. 800-805; that of the French *ibid*, ix, pp. 520-524. Parkman gives a good resumé in *Frontenac*, pp. 289-294. Lahontan has greatly exaggerated the numbers of the slain — in all, about a hundred French were killed and wounded. — Ed.

All these different Adventures give me ground to conjecture, that it will be much more difficult [175] than 'tis imagin'd, to make a good Peace with the five Nations of the *Iroquefe*. Mr. *Frontenac* has given the necessary Orders to all the neighbouring Habitations, that they should transport a great quantity of Stakes and Lime in the Winter time to the Neighbourhood of this City. Farewel Sir, the last Ships which are to depart hence for *France*, will sail in three or four days.  
I am,

*S I R, Yours, &c.*

## LETTER XXIII.

Dated at *Nants* Octob. 25. 1692.

*Containing an Account of the taking of some English Veffels, of defeating a Party of the Iroquefe, of an Iroquefe burnt alive at Quebec; of another Party of thefe Barbarians, who having surpriz'd some Coureurs de Bois, were afterwards surpriz'd themfelves. Of the Project of an Enterprize propos'd by Mr. Frontenac to the Author. Of the Authors departure in a Frigat for France, and his ftopping at Placentia, which was attack'd by an English Fleet that came to take that Poft from us. How the English fail'd in their Defign, and the Author purfu'd his Voyage.*

SIR,

THIS Letter comes from *Britany*, and not from *Canada*, from whence I parted fuddenly to return into *France*, about two Months after I receiv'd your Letter, which I could not then anfwer for want of an opportunity. You tell me, that you are fatifsi'd with the Defcription I have fent you of [176] the River St. *Laurence*, and that you would be very glad to have as exact an account of the whole Country of *Canada*. I can fcarce fatisfie your defire at prefent, becaufe I have not yet had time to fort all my Memoirs, and therefore you muft not take it amifs, that I pray you to fufpend your curiofity

for some time. In the mean time, here follows the Relation of some things that happen'd in *Canada*, which may be acceptable to you.

Immediately after the Ships parted from *Quebec* the last year, Mr. *Frontenac* order'd a Plan to be drawn of a Wall to encompass the City, and having transported thither all the Materials necessary for building some Redoubts of Stone, he took care to fortifie it during the Summer.<sup>1</sup> Some days agoe a Gentleman of *New-England* call'd *Nelson*, was brought prisoner to *Quebec*, who was taken in the River of *Kenebeki*, upon the Coast of *Acadia*, together with three Ships belonging to him, and because he was a very gallant Man, Mr. *Frontenac* gave him a Lodging at his own House, and treated him with all manner of Civility.<sup>2</sup> About the beginning of this year,

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<sup>1</sup> The plans for fortifying Quebec were made by Levasseur and Beaucourt, two young engineers from France. The walls, which were the first permanent fortifications of Quebec, were about three-quarters of a mile in extent, stretching from Cape Diamond to St. Charles River. — Ed

<sup>2</sup> John Nelson, a prominent Boston merchant, was great-nephew of Sir Thomas Temple from whom he had inherited rights to Nova Scotia grants. During the Andros revolution (1689), he headed the party that secured surrender of the fort in Boston harbor, and used all his influence against the tyrannical government. Being an Episcopalian and "of gay and free temper," he was accorded no place in the provisional government, but opposed Phips and his plans. In 1691, he was captured in St. John's River on his way to Port Royal. Frontenac treated him with marked courtesy, as a reward for his kindness to French prisoners in Boston. Having found means to send information to Boston of an expected attack on Pemaquid, Nelson was deported to France, where he was kept in solitary confinement for two years. Removed to the Bastille, he made propositions for an adjustment between the crowns, and was sent to England on parole (1696). Refusing to break his parole, though the king forbade his return to Paris, he went back and remained prisoner until the peace of Ryswick (1697). Upon his release, he had trouble with the English authorities because of his disobedience, but, after an absence of ten years, was finally allowed to return to Boston. In 1707, he supported the king's party in the colony. — Ed.

this Governour gave the command of a Party consisting of 150 Soldiers, to Chevalier *Beaucour*, with whom fifty of the Savages that were our Friends were joyn'd, in order to march on the Ice towards Fort *Frontenac*. About thirty or forty Leagues from *Monreal*, they met a Company of sixty *Iroquese*, who were discover'd by the Foot-steps of some of their Hunters, that had stragled out of their Cottages, and the next day they were all surpriz'd, and either had their Throats cut, or were made Prisoners. The *Sieur de la Plante* who liv'd in Slavery with these Wretches, had the good fortune to be present in their Company when they were defeated, and he had certainly been kill'd with his Masters, if he had not cry'd out with all his Might, *Spare me, I am a Frenchman*: He was one of [177] the four Officers, who had the misfortune to be taken in that fatal Incurfion, which these Tygers made into *Monreal*, as I told you in my 17<sup>th</sup> Letter.<sup>1</sup> The Chevalier *Beaucour* return'd again to the Colony with his Party, and brought along with him twelve Prisoners of the *Iroquese*, who were immediately conducted to *Quebec*: After they arriv'd, Mr. *Frontenac* did very judiciously condemn two of the wickedest of the Company, to be burnt alive with a slow Fire. This Sentence extreamly terrified the Governour's Lady, and the Jesuits; the Lady us'd all manner of supplication to procure a moderation of the terrible Sentence, but the Judge was

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<sup>1</sup> Josué Dubois de Berthelot, sieur de Beaucourt, a young engineer, was the second officer on this expedition, and took command when his superior became disabled. Later, he served the colony in many capacities, planning the Quebec fortifications of 1712; acting as army officer in Newfoundland in 1705; and as governor of Three Rivers in 1730. — Ed.

inexorable, and the Jesuits employ'd all their Eloquence in vain upon this occasion. The Governour answered them, "That it was absolutely necessary to make some terrible examples of Severity to frighten the *Iroquese*; That since these Barbarians burnt almost all the *French*, who had the misfortune to fall into their Hands, they must be treated after the same manner, because the Indulgence which had hitherto been shewn them, seem'd to authorize them to invade our Plantations, and so much the rather to do it, because they run no other hazard, than that of being taken, and well kept at their Master's Houses; but when they should understand that the *French* caus'd them to be burnt, they would have a care for the future, how they advanc'd with so much boldness to the very Gates of our Cities; and in fine, That the Sentence of Death being past, these two wretches must prepare to take a Journey into the other World. This obstinacy appear'd surprizing in Mr. *Frontenac*, who but a little before had favour'd the escape of three or four Persons liable to the Sentence of Death, upon the importunate prayer of Madam the Governess; but though she redoubled her earnest Supplications, she could not alter his firm Resolution as [178] to these two Wretches.<sup>1</sup> The Jesuits were thereupon sent to Baptize them, and oblige them to acknowledge the Trinity, and the Incarnation, and to represent to them the

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<sup>1</sup>The lady who plead for the Iroquois must have been the intendant's wife, Madame de Champigny, as the Countess de Frontenac never came to New France. The Jesuits later reported that the terrible example made of this Iroquois prisoner had a good effect, in causing that nation to cease or mitigate the tortures of the captured French. — Ed.

Joys of Paradife, and the Torments of Hell, within the fpace of eight or ten hours. You will readily confefs, Sir, that this was a very bold way of treating thefe great Myfteries, and that to endeavour to make the *Iroquefe* underftand them fo quickly, was to expofe them to their Laughter. Whether they took thefe Truths for Songs, I do not know; but this I can affure you, that from the Minute they were acquainted with this fatal News, they fent back thefe good Fathers without ever hearing them; and then they began to fing the fong of Death, according to the cuftom of the Savages. Some charitable Perfon having thrown a Knife to them in Prifon, he who had the leaft Courage of the two, thruft it into his Breaft, and died of the Wound immediately. Some young *Hurons* of *Lorette*, aged between fourteen and fifteen years, came to feize the other, and carry him away to the *Diamant Cape*, where notice was given to prepare a great pile of Wood. He ran to death with a greater unconcernednefs, than *Socrates* would have done, if he had been in his cafe. During the time of Execution he fung continually; “That  
“he was a Warriour, brave and undaunted; that the moft  
“cruel kind of Death could not fhock his Courage, that  
“no Torments could extort from him any Cries, that his  
“Companion was a Coward for having kill’d himfelf through  
“the fear of Torment; and laftly, that if he was burnt, he  
“had this Comfort, that he had treated many *French* and  
“*Hurons* after the fame manner. All that he faid was very true, and chiefly as to his own courage and firmnefs of Soul;

for I can truly swear to you, that he neither shed Tears, nor was ever perceiv'd to Sigh; but on the contrary, during all the time that he suffer'd [179] the most horrible Torments that could be invented, and which lasted about the space of three hours, he never ceas'd one Minute from finging. The soles of his Feet were roasted before two great Stones red hot, for more than a quarter of an hour; the tops of his Fingers were scorch'd in a Stove of lighted Pipes; during which Torture he did not draw back his Hand. After this the several joynts of his Body were cut off, one after another: The Nerves of his Limbs and Arms were distorted with a little Iron Wand, after such a manner, as cannot possibly be express'd. In fine, after many other Tortures, the hair of his Head was taken off after such a manner, that there remain'd nothing but the Skull, upon which these young Executioners were going to throw some burning Sand, when a certain Slave of the *Hurons* of *Lorette*, by the order of Madam the Governess, knock'd him on the head with a Club, which put an end to his Martyrdom. As to my self, I vow and swear, that the Prologue of this Tragedy, created in me so great a Horror, that I had not the curiosity to see the end of it, nor to hear this poor Wretch sing to the last moment of his Life. I have seen so many burnt against my Will, amongst those People where I sojourn'd, during the course of my Voyages, that I cannot think of it without trouble. 'Tis a sad Spectacle, at which every one is obliged to be present, when he happens to Sojourn among these Sav-



age Nations, who inflict this cruel kind of Death upon their Prisoners of War; for as I have told you in one of my Letters, all the Savages practise this barbarous Cruelty. Nothing is more grating to a civil Man, than that he is oblig'd to be a Witness of the Torments which this kind of Martyrs suffer; for if any one should pretend to shun this Sight, or express any Compassion for them, he would be esteem'd by them a Man of no Courage.

[180] After the Navigation was open and free, the *Sieur St. Michel* a *Canadan*, set out from *Monreal* for the Beaver Lakes, at the Head of a Party of the *Coreurs de Bois*, with several Canows laden with such Goods as are proper for the Savages. In their passage from *Long-Saut*, to the River of the *Outaouas*, they met sixty *Iroquese*, who surpriz'd them, and cut all their Throats except four, that had the good fortune to escape, and carry the news to *Monreal*.<sup>1</sup> As soon as this fatal accident was known, the *Chevalier Vaudreuil*, put himself in a Canow with a Detachment, and pursu'd this party of *Iroquese*, being follow'd by a hundred *Canadans*, and some confederate Savages. I know not by what chance he had the good fortune to overtake them, but so it was, he surpriz'd them, and attack'd them with Vigour, upon which they fought desperately, but at last they were defeated. This Victory cost us the lives of many of our Savages, and of three or four of our Officers.

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<sup>1</sup> *St. Michel*, the leader, was carried captive to *Onondaga*, whence he escaped in 1693, just as he was to be burned at the stake. Nearly naked, without food or weapons, he made his way in twenty-four days to *Quebec*, where he gave warning of an approaching *Iroquois* raid. — *ED.*

The *Iroquefe* that were taken, were carried to the City of *Monreal*, near which place they were regal'd with a Salvo of Bastinadoes.<sup>1</sup>

About the beginning of the Month of *July*, Mr. *Frontenac* having receiv'd some News from the Commander of the Lakes,<sup>2</sup> spoke to me of a certain Project, which I had formerly shown him to be of great Importance: But because he did not sufficiently consider all the advantages that might be reap'd from it, and on the contrary, apprehended a great many difficulties would attend the putting it in execution, he had altogether neglected this Affair, of which I shall give you the following account.

I observ'd to you in my 17th Letter, the great Importance and Advantage of the Forts of *Frontenac* and *Niagara*, and that in the conjuncture of Circumstances wherein Mr. *Denonville* then found them, it was impossible to preserve them. You have also [181] remark'd the advantages which the Savages have over the *Europeans*, by their way of fighting in the Forrests of this vast Continent. Since we cannot destroy the *Iroquefe* with our own single Forces, we are necessarily oblig'd to have recourse to the Savages that are our Allies: And 'tis certain, as they themselves foresee, that if these *Bar-*

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<sup>1</sup> For an account of Vaudreuil's pursuing party, see *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, pp. 531, 536. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> This was Louis de la Porte, sieur de Louvigny, who was commandant at Mackinac 1690-94. He was an able officer, who saw much service in the colony; was major of Quebec in 1703; led several expeditions to the upper country, notably that of 1716 to Wisconsin; and was drowned in a shipwreck (1725). For fuller details see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, pp. 67-77, 108-110; xvi, index. — ED.

*barians* could compass the Destruction of our Colonies, they would be subdued by them sooner or later, as it has happen'd to many other Nations, so they know it to be their Interest to joyn with us to destroy these *Banditti*'s. Now since they are well affected to this design, we must endeavour to facilitate to them the means of putting it in execution, for you may easily believe that these People, as savage as they are, are not so void of Sense, as to travel two or three hundred Leagues from their own Country, to fight against their Enemies, without being sure of a place of retreat, where they may repose themselves, and find Provisions. There is no question therefore, but we should build Forts upon the Lands of the *Iroquoise*, and maintain them in spite of their Teeth. This, Sir, is what I propos'd above a year agoe to Mr. *Frontenac*, and it is what he would have me still to undertake. I project therefore, to build and maintain three Forts upon the course of the Lakes, with some Vessels that shall go with Oars, which I will build according to my Fancy; but they being light, and of great carriage, may be manag'd either with Oars or a Sail, and will also be able to bear the shocks of the Waves. I demand fifty Seamen of the *French Biscay*, for they are known to be the most dexterous and able Mariners that are in the World. I must also have two hundred Soldiers, chosen out of the Troops of *Canada*. I will build three little Castles in several places, one at the mouth of the Lake *Errie*, which you see in my Map of *Canada*, under the name of Fort *Supposè*, besides two [182] others. The second I will build in the same place where it was when I maintain'd it, in the years 1687, and 1688, whereof

I have wrote to you in my 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Letter: and the third at the Mouth of the Bay of *Toronto*, upon the same Lake.<sup>1</sup> Ninety Men will be sufficient to Garrison these three Redoubts, and perhaps a smaller number; for the *Iroquese* who never saw a Canon, but in a Picture, and to whom an ounce of Powder is more precious than a Lewis-D'or, can never be persuaded to attack any kind of Fortification. I desire of the King for putting this Project in execution, 15000 Crowns a year, for the Maintenance, Entertainment, Subsistence, and pay of these 250 Men. It will be very easie for me to transport with the abovemention'd Vessels 400 Savages, into the Country of the *Iroquese*, whenever I have a mind. I can carry Provisions for 2000, and transport as many Sacks of *Indian* Corn, as are necessary for maintaining these Forts both in Winter and Summer. 'Tis easie to have plenty of Hunting and Shooting in all the Isles, and to contrive ways for crossing the Lakes; and it will be so much the more easie to pursue the *Iroquese* in their Canows, and sink them, that my Vessels are light, and my Men fight under a Cover. In fine, if you saw the Memorial which I am to present to Mr. *Pontchartrain*, you would find that this Enterprize is the finest and most useful that can be invented, to distress the *Iroquese* in time of War, and confine them within bounds in time of Peace. Mr.

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<sup>1</sup> Toronto Lake was the early name of Lake Simcoe. Lahontan appears to apply it to the entire Georgian Bay, whence the Toronto portage led through the peninsula to Lake Ontario. His intended fort was to control this passage to Canada, as that on Lake Erie commanded the route by the Great Lakes. A contemporary document appears to be concerned with that part of Lahontan's project that related to the post at Detroit. See Roy, *Lahontan*, pp. 94, 95. — ED.

*Frontenac* has joyn'd to it a private Letter to Mr. *Pontchartrain*, wherein he observes to him, that if this Project were well put in execution, these terrible Enemies would be oblig'd in two years time, to abandon their Country. After this he adds, that he judges me sufficiently qualified to go upon such an Interprife; and believes I will make my point good. Perhaps he might have light on others that know the Country and Customs of the Savages better than [183] I do: But by an accident which do's not tend much to my advantage, I have purchas'd the Esteem and Friendship of these Savages, which in my opinion was the only reason that mov'd Mr. *de Frontenac* to single out me for this Service.

July the 27th the Governour having given me his Packet for the Court, and the St. *Ann* Frigat being rigg'd and fitted out according to his Orders, I imbarqu'd in the Port of *Quebec*, and after five days failing, we met in the River of St. *Laurence*, over against *Monts notre dame*, twelve Merchantmen bound from *France* for *Quebec*, under the Convoy of Mr. *d'Iberville*, Captain of the *Poli*.<sup>1</sup> August the 8th, we got clear of the Bay of St. *Laurence*, by the help of a Westerly Gale, and that in such fair and clear Weather, that we descry'd the Islands of Cape *Breton* and *Newfound-Land*, as distinctly, as if we had been within a Musket-shot of 'em. The nine or ten following days were so far of a different stamp, that we could scarce see from

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<sup>1</sup> *Iberville* was to continue to the coast of *Acadia* and attack Fort *Pemaquid*. The plan proved abortive, because the English authorities were notified by the prisoner *Nelson*. The "*Poli*" was wrecked the following year off the coast of *Newfoundland*. — Ed.

the Prow to the Poop of the Ship, for all of a sudden there fell the thickest and darkeſt Fog that ever I ſaw. At the end of theſe days the Horifon clearing up, we ſtood in for *New-found-Land*, deſcrying Cape St. *Mary*; and by making all the fail we could, arriv'd that very day in the Port of *Placentia*.<sup>1</sup>

In that Port I found fifty Fiſhermen, moſt of which were of *French Biſcay*, and thought to have ſet out for *France* along with them in a few days: But they were longer in getting ready than I thought for, and when we were juſt ready to break ground, we were inform'd by ſome Fiſhermen, that five large *Engliſh* Ships were come to an Anchor near Cape St. *Mary*. This Intelligence prov'd very true, for on the 15<sup>th</sup> of *September* they caſt Anchor in fight of *Placentia*. The 16<sup>th</sup> they weigh'd, and came to an Anchor in the Road, out of the reach of our Guns. Upon this the Governour was not a little perplex'd, for he had but fifty Soldiers in his Fort, and a very [184] ſmall moiety of Ammunition. Beſides, the Fort was commanded by a Mountain, from whence he might be gall'd with Stones flung out of Slings; and 'twas to be fear'd, the *Engliſh* would poſſeſs themſelves of that high Ground. I march'd with fixty of the Seamen belonging to the Fiſhermen, to prevent their Landing, in caſe they attempted to make a

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<sup>1</sup> Placentia, the French poſt upon Newfoundland, poſſeſſed an excellent harbor. Together with a portion of the ſouthern ſhore of the iſland, it had been ſold (1662) by Charles II to Louis XIV, who immediately erected a fortification at this point. Before King William's War, the defences had fallen into ruin, and the place become the reſort of privateers who ſallied forth to attack Engliſh fiſhing and trading veſſels. Since 1690 the French had been occupied in reſtoring the stronghold, and rebuilding the fort, named St. Louis. — ED.

Descent at a certain place call'd *la Fontaine*; and I compass'd my end without firing a Gun. In effect, six or seven hundred *English* put in to the Land in twenty Sloops, with a design to have landed at that place; upon which my vigorous *Cantabrians* being full of fire and forwardness, appear'd too soon upon the shoar, in spite of my Teeth, and by that means oblig'd the *English* to take another course, and row with all their might to the back of a little Cape, where they threw in a Barrel of Pitch and Tar that burnt two arpents of Thickets. The 18<sup>th</sup> about Noon, perceiving that a little Sloop put off from the Admiral with a white Flag on its Prow, and made towards the Fort, I run in thither immediately. The Governour had took care to send out one of his own Sloops with the same Flag, to meet the other, and was surpris'd when she return'd with two *English* Officers on board. These Officers gave the Governour to understand, that the Admiral desir'd he would send an Officer on board of him, which was done accordingly; for Mr. *de Cofte-belle*<sup>1</sup> and I, went on board of the Admiral, who receiv'd us with all Respect and Civility, and regal'd us with Sweet-meats, and several sorts of Wines, with which we drank the Healths of the Admirals of *France*, and *England*. He shew'd us his whole Ship, to the very Carriages of the Guns,

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<sup>1</sup> Sieur Pastour de Costabelle was sent to Placentia in 1687 in command of a detachment of troops. Upon the retirement of the governor, he assumed control until superseded by De Brouillon (1690), under whom he became second in command, and with whom he was a confederate in enriching himself from the profit of the public service. In 1701 Costabelle succeeded De Brouillon as governor of Placentia — an office he held for about twelve years, when he was sent to take charge of Isle Royal (Cape Breton). — Ed.

and then gave the *Sieur de Costebelle* to know, that 'twould be a great trouble to him to be oblig'd to take *Placentia* by the force of Arms, in regard that he foresaw, such an Enterprize would prove fatal to the Governour, to the Garrison, and all the [185] Inhabitants, upon the account that he would find a great deal of difficulty in preventing the Pillaging and other Disorders; That in order to avoid this Misfortune, 'twould be a prudential part in the Governour to come to a Composition. Our Officer being fully acquainted with the Governour's Mind, made answer in his name, that he was resolv'd upon a vigorous defence, and would rather spring the place in the Air, than surrender it to the Enemies of the King his Master. After a mutual exchange of Compliments, we took leave of him, and being ready to get into our Sloop, he told us with embraces, that he was infinitely sorry he could not salute us with his Guns, in the room of which he order'd five or six Huzza's, with a *Long live the King*. When we went into the Boat, we return'd him the same number of shouts, to which he return'd a seventh that finish'd the Ceremony. Upon our return to the Fort, Mr. *de Costebelle* gave the Governour an account of the force of the Admiral's Ship. The *St. Albans* (so the Ship was call'd) carried sixty six Guns mounted, and six hundred Men Complement, but the other Ships appear'd to be of less force.

The next day, which was the 19<sup>th</sup>, they advanc'd within Canon-shot of the Fort, where they lay by, while a Sloop row'd up to the Batteries. The Governour sent out another



Sloop to know what the matter was, and was answer'd, that if he had a mind for a Parley in the time of the Ingagement, he should put up a red Flag for a Signal. I was then posted at *la Fontaine*, to oppose a Descent; for that was the only place that could be serviceable to the *English*, in order to master *Placentia*. The *English* ought to have consider'd, that their Cannon would do no service against an impenetrable Rampart, and that they would lose their labour in shooting against Flints and Earth. But it seems, they were oblig'd by express Orders from the Prince of *Orange*, to do [186] it, and at the same time to expose themselves to the danger of being funk, which had certainly been effected, if we had had Powder and Ball enough for the Canonading lasted almost five hours.

The 20th a *French* Pilot who was Prisoner on board of the Admiral, made his escape by throwing himself into the Sea in the Night-time. He landed at the place where I lay in Ambuscade; and after he had given me an account of what pass'd in the Fleet, I sent him to the Governour's House. He inform'd me, that they had design'd a Descent with seven or eight hundred Men, but alter'd their Resolution, upon the apprehension, that there were fourteen or fifteen hundred Seamen ready to oppose them; that they were of the opinion, that my sixty *Biscayans* who discover'd themselves upon the shoar at *la Fontaine*, in spite of all I could do, had no other view but to draw 'em into an Ambuscade, by tempting 'em to come up. The 21st they set sail with a North-East Gale, after having burnt all the Houses at *Pointe Verte*, where the Governour had sent a Detachment by way of Precaution that

same very day; but the ways were so impracticable, that the Detachment could not get there in time to oppose the Enemy. This one may justly say, that if it had not been for the Captains of the *Biscay* Ships that were then at *Placentia*, that place had undoubtedly fallen into the hands of the *English*: And this I can convince you of, when you and I meet. In this bloody Expedition, the *English* lost six Men; and on our side the *Sieur Boat*, Lieutenant of a *Nantes* Vessel, had his Arm shot off. In fine, the *English* did all that Men could do, so that nothing can be said against their Conduct.<sup>1</sup>

*October* the 6th, I took shipping in pursuit of my Voyage to *France*, being accompany'd with several other Vessels. The Westerly Winds were so favourable to us in our passage, that we came to an Anchor [187] on the 23d at *St. Nazere*, which lies but eight or nine Leagues for this place.<sup>2</sup> I am to set out immediately for *Versailles*; in the mean time, I am,

S I R,

*Yours, &c.*

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<sup>1</sup> The English ships were commanded by Commodore Williams, whose management of the attack was later criticized. Comparison with the documentary reports of this expedition, proves that Lahontan was accurate in this account. Charlevoix drew from it largely in his *History*, iv, pp. 222-226. The governor represented to the court the services of Lahontan on this occasion. See Roy, *Lahontan*, p. 97. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> St. Nazaire is a harbor at the mouth of the Loire River. — Ed.

## LETTER XXIV.

Dated at *Nantes* May 10. 1693.

*Containing an Account of Mr. Frontenac's Project, which was rejected at Court, and the reason why it was rejected. The King gives the Author the Lieutenancy of the Isle of Newfoundland, &c. together with a free Independent Company.*

SIR,

I AM now once more at *Nantes*, from whence I wrote to you in *October* last. I am now return'd from Court, where I presented to Mr. *Pontchartrain* Mr. *Frontenac's* Letters, and the Memorial I mention'd in my last. I was answer'd, that it would not be proper to execute the Project I propos'd because the forty Seamen which were necessary for my purpose, could not now be allow'd me, and besides the King had given Orders to Mr. *Frontenac*, to make Peace with the *Iroquese* upon any terms whatsoever. This Inconveniency also was found to attend the Project, that after the Forts which I intended to build upon the Lakes were intirely finish'd, the Savages that are our Friends and Confederates, would rather seek after Glory, by making [188] War upon the *Iroquese*, than take pleasure in Hunting the Beavers, which would be a considerable damage to the Colonies of *Canada*, that subsist only as one may say, by the trade of Skins, as I shall shew you more

particularly in a proper place. The *English* will by no means take it ill, that we do not build these Forts, for besides that, they are too much concern'd for the preservation of the *Iroquese*, they will always be ready to furnish with Merchandize the Savage Nations, that are our Allies, as they have done hitherto. I must own my self mightily oblig'd to the *English*, who attack'd us at *Placentia* the last year; they declar'd publicly, though without any just ground, after they arriv'd in *England*, that they would infallibly have taken that place, if I had not oppos'd their Descent. I have already inform'd you, that I did not at all hinder them from Landing at the place where I was posted with sixty *Biscayan* Seamen: So that they attribute to me a glorious Action, in which I had no share, and by that means have done me so much Honour, that his Majesty hath bestow'd upon me the Lieutenancy of the Isle of *Newfound-Land* and *Acadia*, which I never deserv'd upon that score. Thus you see, Sir, that many times such Persons are preferr'd, who have no other Patrons in the World, but pure Chance. However, I should have been better pleas'd, if I could have put the abovemention'd Project in execution, for a solitary Life is most grateful to me, and the manners of the Savages are perfectly agreeable to my Palate. The corruption of our Age is so great, that it seems the *Europeans* have made a Law, to tear one another in pieces by cruel Usage and Reproaches, and therefore you must not think it strange, if I have a kindness for the poor *Americans*, who have done me so many favours. I am to set out the next day after to Morrow, from this [189] place, in order to embark at *St. Nazere*. The

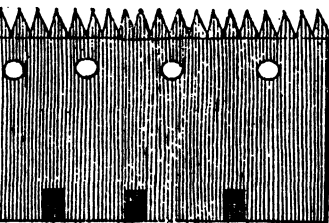
*Messieurs d'Angui*, two *Nantes* Merchants, have taken upon them to maintain the Garrison of *Placentia*, upon condition of certain Grants made by the Court, who furnishes them with a Ship, wherein I am to have my Passage. Pray fend me your News by some Ships of *S. John de Luz*, which are to sail from this place within two Months, in order to truck with the Inhabitants of *Placentia*.

I cannot conclude this Letter, without giving you some account of a Dispute I had very lately at my Inn, with a *Portugueze* Physician, who had made many Voyages to *Angola*, *Brezil*, and *Goa*. He maintain'd, that the People of the Continent of *America*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, were descended from three different Fathers, which he thus attempted to prove. The *Americans* differ from the *Asiatics*, for they have neither Hair nor Beard; the features of their Face, their colour and their customs are different; besides that, they know neither *meum* nor *tuum*, but have all things in common, without making any property of Goods, which is quite contrary to the *Asiatic* way of living. He added, that *America* was so far distant from the other parts of the World, that no body can imagine, how a Voyage should be made into this New Continent, before the use of the Compass was found out; That the *Africans* being black and flat Nos'd, had such monstrous thick Lips, such a flat Face, such soft woolly Hair on their Head, and were in their Constitution, Manners, and Temper, so different from the *Americans*, that he thought it impossible, that these two sorts of People should derive their Original from *Adam*, whom this Physician would have to resemble a *Turk* or a *Persian* in his

Air and Figure. I answer'd him presently, that supposing the Scripture did not give convincing evidence, that all Men in general are descended from one first Father, yet his reasoning would not be sufficient [190] to prove the contrary, since the difference that is found between the People of *America* and *Africa*, proceeds from no other cause but the different qualities of the Air and Climat in these two Continents: That this appears plainly to be true, because a *Negro* Man and Woman, or a Savage Man and Woman, being transplanted into *Europe*, will produce such Children there, who in four or five Generations, will infallibly be as white, as the most ancient *Europeans*. The Physician deny'd this matter of Fact, and maintain'd, that the Children descended from this *Negro* Man or Woman, would be born there as black as they are in *Guinea*; but that afterwards the Rays of the Sun being more oblique and less scorching than in *Africa*, these Infants would not have that black shining Lustre, which is so easily distinguished upon the Skin of such *Negroes* as are brought up in their own Country. To confirm his *Hypothesis*, he assur'd me, that he had seen many *Negroes* at *Lisbon*, as black as in *Africa*, tho' their Great Grandfather's Grandfather had been transplanted into *Portugal* many years agoe. He added also, that those who were descended from the *Portuguese*, that dwelt at *Angola*, *Cape Vert*, &c. about a hundred years agoe, are so little tawn'd, that 'tis impossible to distinguish them from the Natives of *Portugal*: He further confirm'd his way of reasoning, from an uncontestable matter of fact, for, says he, if the Rays of the Sun were the cause of the blackness of the *Negroes*,

from hence it would follow, that the *Brazilians* being situate in the same degree from the Equator with the *Africans*, should be as black as they are; but so they are not, for 'tis certain their Skin appears to be as clear as that of the *Portuguese*. But this was not all, he maintain'd farther, that these who are descended from the first Savages of *Brazil*, that were transported into *Portugal*, above an Age agoe, have as little Hair and [191] Beard as their Ancestors, and on the contrary, those who are descended from the first *Portuguese*, who peopl'd the Colonies of *Brazil*, are as hairy, and have as great Beards, as if they had been born in *Portugal*. But after all, continued he, though all that I have said is absolutely true, yet there are some People, who rashly maintain, that the Children of the *Africans* and *Americans*, will by degrees degenerate in *Europe*. This may happen to those whose Mothers receive the embraces of *Europeans*, which is the reason why we see so many *Mullatto's* in the Isles of *America*, in *Spain*, and in *Portugal*: Whereas if these Women had been as closely kept up in *Europe*, as the *Portuguese* Women are in *Africa* and *America*, the Children of the *Brazilians* would no more degenerate than those of the *Portuguese*. Such Sir, was the reasoning of this Doctor, who hits the matter pretty justly towards the end of his Discourse; but his Principle is most false, and most absurd, for no Man can doubt, unless he be void of Faith, good Sense and Judgment, but that *Adam* was the only Father of all Mankind. 'Tis certain, that the Savages of *Canada*, and all the other People of *America*, have not naturally either Hair or Beard; that the features of their Face, and their colour ap-

...pony bark of y<sup>e</sup> River.



provided they are such as fom of y<sup>e</sup> Mozeem



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acturers & y<sup>e</sup> Esanapes

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al

New Mexico  
1764

A Map of y<sup>e</sup> LONG RIVER and of some others  
that fall into that small part of y<sup>e</sup> Great River  
of Mississipi wich is here laid down .

The small pricks that are run along from Mississilimakinac  
and back to it by another way is y<sup>e</sup> Course I steard in my Voyage  
The Flower deluces \* mark'd in some Rivers represent  
y<sup>e</sup> Places that I stop'd at with out going higher up .  
The Croffes \* shew y<sup>e</sup> Land carriages from one Pl: to another

2 Village  
Nadous

two Maps

The Division of the



Degrees



English and French Leagues

This Map Relates to Letter XVI..

Villages of y<sup>e</sup>  
Mississouri

of y<sup>e</sup> R.





proaching to an Olive, show a vast difference between them and the *Europeans*. What is the cause of these things I know not, and yet I cannot believe them to be the effect of their Air and Food. For at that rate, those who are descended from the *French*, that first settled in *Canada* near a hundred years ago, and for the most part run up and down in the Woods, and live like the Savages, should have neither Beard nor Hair, but degenerate also by degrees into Savages, which yet never happens. After this Physician had alledg'd all these Reasons, he digress'd from this Subject, and having a mind to discover his extravagant Opinions, ask'd me what I [192] thought of the Salvation of so many *Americans*, to whom in all probability the Gospel was never preach'd. You may very well believe, that I made no scruple to condemn them by wholesale to Eternal Fire, which he took very ill. 'How can you, said he, 'condemn these poor People with so much assurance: 'Tis 'probable that their first Father, having never sinn'd as our 'Adam did, had a good Soul, and an upright Heart, since his 'Posterity do exactly observe the Law of natural Equity, 'which is express'd in *Latine* in these well known words, *Alteri 'ne feceris quod tibi fieri non vis*; and allow no property of 'Goods, nor any Distinction or Subordination among them, 'but live as Brethren, without Disputes, without Suits, without Laws, and without Malice. But supposing, added he, 'that they were originally descended from Adam, we ought 'not to believe, that they are damn'd for their ignorance of 'the Christian Doctrine, for who can tell but God may impute 'to them the Merits of Christ's Blood, by ways secret and

‘incomprehensible to us; and besides, (supposing that Man has a Free Will) his Divine Majesty without doubt will have a greater regard to his moral Actions, than to his Worship and Belief. The want of Knowledge, continued he, is an Unhappiness, but not a Crime, and who can tell but God has a mind to be honour’d by infinite ways of paying him Homage and Respect, as by Sacrifices, Dances, Songs, and the other Ceremonies of the *Americans*? He had scarce made an end of his Discourse, when I fell foul upon him with all my might, as to the preceding Points; but after I had given him to understand, that if among the *multi vocati*, i. e. those who profess the true Religion, who are but a handful of Men, there are found but *Pauci electi*, all the *Americans* must be in a very deplorable condition: He answer’d me impudently, that I was very rash [193] to determine who should be in the number of the Reprobate at the last Judgment, and to condemn them without giving any Quarter; for, says he, this is to insult the Wisdom of God, and to make him deal as capriciously by his Creatures, as St. Paul’s Potter did by his two Vessels. Nevertheless, when he saw that I treated him like an impious, unbelieving Wretch, he to be even with me, reply’d in these foolish words, *Fidem ego hic quæ adbibetur Mysteriis sacris interpello, sed fidem illam quæ bonæ mentis soror est, quæq; rectam rationem amat.* From hence you may judge, Sir, whether this fine Physician was able to remove Mountains. I am,

SIR,

Yours, &amp;c.

## LETTER XXV.

Dated at *Viana* in *Portugal* *January* 31. 1694.

*The Author's departure from France for Placentia. A Fleet of 30 English Ships came to seize upon that place; but is disappointed, and sheers off. The Reasons why the English have had success in all their Enterprizes beyond Sea. The Author's Adventure with the Governour of Placentia. His departure for Portugal. An Engagement with a Flushing Privateer.*

SIR,

I DO not at all doubt but you will be sensibly affected with my sad and fatal Misadventure, which I am now to give you an account of. And first [194] you must know, that after we had waited for a fair Wind fifteen or twenty days at *St. Nazere*, we set sail on the 12<sup>th</sup> of *May* last. Our Passage was neither long nor short, for we arriv'd at the Harbour of *Placentia* the 20<sup>th</sup> of *June*, having taken an *English* Ship laden with Tobacco, on the edges of the Bank of *Newfound Land*. After I landed, I went to salute Mr. *Brouillon*, Governor of *Placentia*, and declar'd to him how glad I was to obey the Orders of so wise a Commander.<sup>1</sup> He answer'd, that he was much surpriz'd

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<sup>1</sup> Jacques François de Brouillon belonged to a good family from Guienne, France, and had served as an infantry officer since 1670. Twenty years later he was honored with the appointment of governor of Placentia, where he arrived early in the spring of 1690. He was an officer of merit, but inclined to speculation, and both merchants

to find, that I had solicited to be employ'd there, without acquainting him with it the preceding year; and that he now plainly perceiv'd, that the Project about the Lakes of *Canada*, (which I had mention'd to him) was a mere sham pretence. I endeavour'd in vain to perswade him to the contrary; for it was not possible for me to undeceive him.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, I landed my Goods, and hir'd a private House, till such time as I could build one for my self, which I carried on with so much diligence, that it was finish'd in *September*, by the assistance of the Ship-Carpenters, who were lent me *gratis*, by all the *Biscay* Captains. The *Sieur Beray* of *St. John de Luz*,<sup>2</sup> arriv'd at *Placentia* on the 18th of *July*, with one of his Ships, and brought me a Letter, wherein you acquaint me, that in regard to your Nephew desires to visit *Canada* the next year, you would be very glad to have a Dictionary of the Language of the Savages, together with the Memoirs which I promis'd you.

On the 16th of *September* we perceiv'd an *English* Fleet of twenty four Sail, which cast Anchor in the Road much about the time that it was discover'd. It was commanded by Sir *Francis Wheeler*, who had gone to *Martinico* with a design

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and habitants made frequent complaints under his administration. He remained in *Placentia* until 1701, when he was transferred to *Acadia*, serving there as governor until his death in 1705. Indications are not lacking from official sources that *Lahontan's* accusations against *De Brouillon* had some justification. See *Roy, Lahontan*, pp. 176-179. — ED.

<sup>1</sup> *Roy* shows from the letters of *De Brouillon* himself, that the arrival of *Lahontan* in the capacity of lieutenant of the king, not only deprived the governor of certain sources of profit, but also of hopes for placing his brother in that position. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> *St. Jean de Luz* is a small port at the southwestern extremity of France on the Bay of *Biscay*. It had considerable commerce with *Placentia* and its fisheries. — ED.

to seize that Isle, and in his return from thence had fail'd to *New England*, to take in some Forces and Ammunition there, in order to make himself Master [195] of *Placentia*; but when he discover'd a Redoubt of Stone lately built upon the top of the Mountain, which I mention'd to you in my last Letter but one, he thought it more advisable to return quietly into *Europe*, than to make a fruitless Attempt. We had planted four Canon upon this high Redoubt, which so gaul'd the Ships of his Fleet, that they were forc'd to weigh Anchor, and hoist Sail sooner than they intended.<sup>1</sup> The fault of the *English* upon this occasion, was, that they did not enter the Harbour the same day that they appear'd before the place. I have observ'd it many times, that Attempts do commonly miscarry, by delaying them for a little while; and of this I could give you at least fifteen or sixteen Instances within the compass of my own Knowledge. But now I return to the Quarrel the Governour had with me.

Fancying that I had solicited my Employments without taking notice of him, he treated me with all manner of Reproaches and Outrages, from the time of my Landing, to that of my Departure, and was not satisfy'd with appropriat-

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Francis Wheler, born in 1656, entered the navy when twenty-two years of age, and by 1680 was captain of a man of war. The following year he captured two Algerine corsairs, and was knighted by James II in the last year of his reign. After the Revolution (1688) Wheler was made rear-admiral and sent with a squadron to the West Indies. There he made an unsuccessful attack on Martinique (April, 1692), and arrived in Boston June 10, where he requested Phips to coöperate in a second attack upon Quebec. Finding that impracticable, he sailed for Placentia, with the results Lahontan details. The following year (1694) his flag ship foundered off the coast of Gibraltar, and the admiral, with all on board, was lost. — Ed.

ing to himself the Profits and Advantages of the free Company that was given me, but likewise stop'd without any scruple, the pay of the Soldiers that were employ'd in the Cod-fishing by the Inhabitants, and made the rest work without Wages. I shall take no notice of his publick Extortion; for tho' he has formally counteracted the ten Articles contain'd in the Orders of *Lewis* the 10th, yet he had so many Friends in all the Courts, that he could not be found guilty: There's some pleasure in making Presents in his way, for by them he has made 50000 Crowns *per fas & nefas*, in the space of three or four years. I should never have done, if I offer'd to give you a particular account of all the trouble and vexation he gave me. I shall only mention three Instances which crown'd all the rest.

[196] On the 20th of *November*, i. e. a Month after our Fishermen set sail, while I was entertaining at Supper some of the Inhabitants, he came Mask'd into my House, with his Servants, and broke the glass Windows, Bottles, and Drinking-Glasses, and threw down the Tables, Chairs, Chests of Drawers, and every thing that came to hand. Before I had time to get into my Chamber, and take my Pistols, this insolent Mob disappear'd very seasonably; for I would have loaded my Pistols and pursu'd them, if my Guests had not hindered me. Next Morning his Servants fell upon mine, who expected nothing less than to be thresh'd to death with Clubs. This second insult having provok'd my Patience to the last degree, I was meditating some Revenge upon these Assassins, when the Recollets came and remonstrated to me, that I must dissem-

ble my Repentment, to prevent any Innovation in the King's Affairs. Then I resolv'd to shut my self up, and apply my self to Study, to divert the vexatious Thoughts, of not being able to pull off my Mask. The third trick which he play'd me, at the end of three days, was this; he sent to arrest two Soldiers, whom I had imploy'd to cut down some Grafs in the Meadows, about half a League from the Garrison: They were seiz'd while they were Mowing, bound and carried away Prisoners, under the pretence of being Deferters, because they had lain two Nights out of the Garrison, without his leave; and, which would have prov'd yet more fatal to these innocent Men, he had certainly caus'd 'em to be knock'd on the Head, on purpose to vex me, if the Recollets, and his own Missse, had not earnestly interceded on their behalf.

After this Accident, the Recollets advis'd me to go and see him, and to entreat him to put an end to all his Persecutions, assuring him at the same time, that I was entirely his Servant and Friend. *Durus est hic sermo.* Whatever reluctance I had to yield to an advice so [197] contrary to nature, which, I must confess, struggled furiously within me, yet I offer'd so much violence to my self, that I submitted to it. I was at his House, went into his Chamber, and being with him all alone, I spoke to him for a quarter of an hour in the most submissive Terms, that any Slave could use. I am ashamed to make this Confession to you, for I blush to my self every time I think of so mean a submission. However, instead of his listening to my Reasons, and treating friendly with me, he fell into a most furious Passion, and loaded me with a torrent of most bitter



Reproaches. In this case, Sir, I preferr'd the Service of the King, before the Punctilio's of Honour, for I did nothing but retir'd to my own House, being well satisfy'd that I was not assassinated by his Domesticks: But the disorder which this Affair produc'd, would require a long Discourse. It will be more to the purpose, to come to matter of Fact; I do assure you, that he would have laid me up, if the Inhabitants had appear'd to be in his Interest. He pretended that he had been insulted, and consequently that he was in the right in revenging himself, whatever it cost him. But the tragical end of a Governour, whose Throat was cut in this Country about thirty or forty years agoe, furnish'd him with abundant matter of Reflexion. He judg'd it therefore his safest way to dissemble his Anger, being perswaded, that if I should have run him through with my Sword, the Soldiers and Inhabitants would have favour'd my escape to the *English*, in the neighbourhood of *Placentia*. In the mean time the Recollets, who had a mind to compose these growing Differences, found no great trouble in reconciling us, for they Remonstrated to him, of what consequence it would be for us to live in a good Correspondence, and to avoid the troubles that would ensue upon our quarrels. This proposal of an Accomodation, was in appearance [198] most agreeable to him, and so much the rather, because he was glad to dissemble his Resentments by the external signs of Friendship. So we saw and embrac'd one another with mutual Protections of forgetting all that had pass'd between us.

After this Reconciliation, I had reason to believe, that

his Heart would not give the lye to his Mouth, because I thought he was not so imprudent as to inform the Court of some Trifles, wherein he would appear to have prostituted his Honour; but I was deceiv'd, for he took the pains to add afterwards to the Verbal Process he had given in before our Accommodation, some falsehoods which he ought to have conceal'd. 'Tis needless to acquaint you, how by chance his Papers fell into my Hands; that Indiscretion might prove a disadvantage to some Persons, whom Heaven blefs. I shall only tell you, that after the Recollets had seen and read the Allegations contain'd in his Papers, they made no scruple to advise me to take care of my self, and ingeneously declar'd to me, that they never intended to meddle any more in that Affair, because they perceiv'd that they had innocently contributed to do me a prejudice, by restoring peace between him and me.<sup>1</sup> This wholsom advice made me perceive the danger to which I should be expos'd, if I continued any longer at *Placentia*, insomuch, that the fear I had of being sent to the *Bastile*, after the arrival of the Ships from *France*, made me resolve to abandon all hopes of making my fortune here, and to throw up my Places. After the Inhabitants were acquainted with this News, all of 'em except three or four, came running to my House, to assure me they were ready to sign my Verbal

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<sup>1</sup> For copies of De Brouillon's accusations against his lieutenant, taken from the French archives, see Roy, *Lahontan*, pp. 100, 101. It is amusing reading, as one recognizes the unpopularity of the governor with the inhabitants, and the mocking spirit of Lahontan who composed satiric songs concerning his superior, and sang them in the taverns of *Placentia*. — ED.

Process, in case I would change my Resolution: But instead of accepting their offer, I gave them to understand, having thank'd them first for their Good-will, that [199] they would bring Mischief upon themselves, and be look'd upon at Court as Seditious Persons, and Disturbers of the publick Peace; since by a detestable principle of Politicks, an inferior Person is always judg'd to be in the wrong, whatever reason he may have on his side. Indeed I would gladly have avoided this fatal necessity of throwing up my Places, which seem'd insensibly to lead me to some great Fortune; but at last the confinement in the *Bastile*, made such a deep impression upon my Mind, after I had seriously reflected upon the troublesome Circumstances of my Affairs, that I made no scruple to embark in a little Vessel, which was the only one, and the last that was to go to *France*. The Proposal I made to the Captain of presenting him with a 1000 Crowns, was so well receiv'd, that he engag'd to land me upon the Coast of *Portugal* for that Sum, upon condition that I should keep the Secret. The best of the matter was, that my Enemy had used the precaution of writing to the Governors of *Belle Isle*, of the Isle of *Re*, and of *Rochelle*, to seize me as soon as I should land.<sup>1</sup> He reckon'd, and not without reason indeed, that this Vessel would put into one of these three Ports: But three hundred Pistoles, dexterously convey'd to the hands of some People that are not much

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<sup>1</sup> Three well-known harbors on the west coast of France. Belle Isle lies off from Brittany opposite the bay of Quiberon; Isle de Ré is over against the harbor of La Rochelle in the Bay of Biscay. — Ed.

accustom'd to finger Gold, have a wonderful effect; for that very Sum, which indeed I was loth to part with, sav'd me my Liberty, and perhaps my Life.

Pursuant to this Resolution, I imbarqu'd the 14<sup>th</sup> of the last Month, notwithstanding the risque that one runs by failing in the Winter time, through such a Sea as lies between *Newfound-Land* and *France*. 'Tis needless to inform you, that I left at *Placentia* a great deal of Household Furniture, which I could neither sell nor carry off. 'Twill be more edifying for you to hear the Journal of our Voyage. We incounter'd three terrible Storms in our Passage, [200] without any damage; and in the last of these, which lasted three days, the Wind at North-West, we run a hundred and fifty Leagues without any Sail. This last Storm was so violent, that the Seamen imbrac'd, and bid an eternal adieu to one another; for every Minute they expected to be funk without relief. As this Storm alarm'd us, so the contrary Winds from the East and North-East, that sprung upon us a hundred Leagues to the Westward of Cape *Finisterre*, occasion'd an equal dread; for we were oblig'd to traverse the Sea for three or four and twenty days, after which we descry'd the Cape by vertue of our frequent tackings, and by a strange accident, were attack'd by a *Flushing* Privateer, which could not board us, because the Sea roll'd so high, but contented her self with firing upon us, and that with so little effect, that we did not lose one Man. Our Masts and Rigging indeed was so dammag'd, that after we were parted from the Privateer, by the help of the Night and a great Fog, we could

scarce make use of our Sails. However, we refitted with all possible diligence, and the Captain of the Ship having then a fair pretence to luff out of the direct course stood to the South-East in the Night-time. This feign'd course did not secure us from the Privateer, which might happen to steer the same course; so that in the Night-time we put our selves in a readiness to renew the fight in the Day-time. In effect, he did not pursue us, as we apprehended: But about Noon we escap'd yet more narrowly, for we were pursu'd by a *Sallyman*<sup>1</sup> in sight of the Coast for four hours, and were within a hairs breadth of being taken, before we got under the Canon of the Fort of this City. Had we been catch'd, the Governour of *Placentia* would have had some ground for the joyful Exclamation, *Incidit in Scillam*, &c. But thank God we were only frightened.

[201] As soon as we came to an Anchor, I paid down my 1000 Crowns to the Captain, who has reason to look upon this Action, as one of the best he ever did in his Life-time. The Long-boat was no sooner in the Water, than I went ashore with all my Baggage; and as soon as I came into this City, I procur'd Ammunition and Provisions for the Ship with that Expedition, that the Captain weigh'd Anchor the very next day, and so continu'd his course to *France*.

As for the Memoirs of the Country of *Canada*, which you have so often desir'd, I have address'd 'em to the *Rochel* Merchant, who convey'd your Letters to me all the while I was in

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<sup>1</sup> A *Salleeman* was a Moorish pirate ship, so called from the port of *Sallee* on the coast of *Morocco*. — ED.

*Canada*. To these I have tack'd a small Catalogue of the most necessary words of the *Algonkin* Language; which, as I have often told you, is the finest and the most universal Language in that Continent. If your Nephew continues his design of undertaking a Voyage to that Country, I would advise him to learn these words in the time of his Passage, that so he may be able to stay five or six Months with the *Algonkins*, and understand what they say. I have likewise sent you an explication of the Sea-Terms, made use of in my Letters. The making of this little Table, was a diversion to me in my Voyage; for in perusing my Letters, I drew out some remarks which I design to impart to you, if I find that the ensuing Memoirs give you satisfaction.

You will readily guess, that from the year 1683, to this very day, I have renounc'd all manner of ties to my Country. The curious Adventures that I have related to you in Writing since that time, will undoubtedly afford an agreeable diversion to your Friends; provided they are not of the number of those unfufferable Devotees, who would rather be crucifi'd, than see an Ecclesiastick expos'd. Pray be so kind as to write to me to *Lisbon*, and inform [202] me of what you hear, in reference to my concern. You have such good Correspondents at *Paris*, that you cannot miss of knowing how things go. I doubt not but my Adversary feeds himself with the hopes, that his usual Presents would procure the apprehending of me in *France*, where he thinks I would be the fool to land: But now to be sure he'll fret his Heart out, for that he cannot gall

me to his Wifhes. However, 'tis as much his intereft to follicit my Death, (purfuant to his unjuft Charge againft me) as 'tis my Glory to procure him a long Life. Upon this foot, Sir, the longer he lives, the more revenge I fhall have; and confequently I fhall have an opportunity of an eafie folace for the lofs of my Places, and the Difgrace I have met with from the King. I am,

*S I R,*

*Yours, &c.*

# [203] M E M O I R S

OF

## North-*America*;

*Containing a Geographical Description of that vast Continent; the Customs and Commerce, of the Inhabitants, &c.*

S I R,

I N my former Letters, I presented you with a view of the *English* and *French* Colonies, the Commerce of *Canada*, the Navigation upon the Rivers and Lakes of that Country, the course of sailing from *Europe* to *North-America*, the several Attempts made by the *English* to master the *French* Colonies, the Incurfions of the *French* upon *New-England*, and upon the *Iroquefe* Country: In a word, Sir, I have reveal'd a great many things, that for reasons of State or Politicks, have been hitherto conceal'd; infomuch, that if you were capable of making me a Sacrifice to your Repentment, 'tis now in your power to ruine me at Court, by producing my Letters.

All that I writ in the foregoing Letters, and the whole substance of the Memoirs I now send you, is truth as plain as the Sun-shine. I flatter no Man, and I spare no body. I scorn to be partial; I bestow due praise upon those who are in no



capacity to serve [204] me, and I censure the Conduct of others, that are capable of doing me an injury by indirect Methods. I am not influenc'd by that principle of Interest and Party-making, that is the rule of some folks words. I sacrifice all to the love of Truth, and write with no other view, than to give you a just Representation of things as they are. 'Tis beneath me to mince or alter the matter of fact, contain'd either in the Letters I sent you some ten or twelve years agoe, or in these Memoirs. In the course of my Voyages and Travels, I took care to keep particular Journals of every thing; but a minute relation of all Particulars, would be irksome to you, besides, that the trouble of taking a copy of the Journals, before I have an opportunity of shewing you the Original, would require more time than I can well spare. In these Memoirs you'll find as much as will serve to form a perfect *Idea* of the vast Continent of *North-America*. In the course of our Correspondence from the year 1683, to this time, I sent you five and twenty Letters, of all which I have kept a double very carefully. My only view in writing of these Letters, was to inform you of the most essential things; for I was unwilling to perplex and confound your Thoughts, with an infinity of uncommon things, that have happen'd in that Country. If you'll consult my Maps, as you read the abovemention'd Letters, you'll find a just Representation of all the places I have spoke of. These Maps are very particular, and I dare assure you, they are the correctest yet extant. My Voyage upon the Long River, gave me an opportunity of making that little Map, which I sent you from *Miffilimakinac* in

1699 [1689], with my sixteenth Letter. 'Tis true, it gives only a bare Description of that River, and the River of the *Mif-fouris*: But it requir'd more time than I could spare, to make it more compleat, by a knowledge of the adjacent Countries, which have [205] hitherto been unknown to all the World, as well as that great River, and which I would never have visited, if I had not been fully instructed in every thing that related to it, and convoy'd by a good Guard. I have plac'd the Map of *Canada* at the front of these Memoirs, and desire that favour of you, that you would not shew it to any body under my Name. To the latter part I have subjoyn'd an Explication of the *Marine*, and other difficult Terms, made use of in my Letters, as well as in these Memoirs; which you'll please to consult, when you meet with a word that you do not understand.

*A short Description of Canada.*

You'll think, Sir, that I advance a Paradox, when I acquaint you that *New-France*, commonly call'd *Canada*, comprehends a greater extent of Ground, than the half of *Europe*: But pray mind what proof I have for that Assertion. You know that *Europe* extends South and North, from the 35 to the 72 degree of Latitude, or if you will, from *Cadiz* to the North Cape on the confines of *Lapland*; and that it's Longitude reaches from the 9th to the 94th Degree, that is, from the River *Oby*, to the West Cape in *Yslandia*. But at the same time, if we take the greatest breadth of *Europe*, from East to West, from the imaginary Canal, (for Instance) between the *Tanaïs* and the *Volga*,

to *Dinglebay* in *Ireland*, it makes but 66 Degrees of Longitude, which contain more Leagues than the Degrees allotted to it towards the Polar Circle, though these are more numerous, by reason that the degrees of Longitude are unequal: And since we are wont to measure Provinces, Islands, and Kingdoms by the space of Ground, I am of the Opinion, that we ought to make use of the same Standard, with respect to the four parts of the World. The Geographers who parcel [206] out the Earth in their Closets, according to their fancy; these Gentlemen, I say, might have been aware of this advance, if they had been more careful. But, to come to *Canada*;

All the World knows, that *Canada* reaches from the 39<sup>th</sup> to the 65<sup>th</sup> Deg. of Latitude, that is, from the South side of the Lake *Erriè*, to the North side of *Hudson's Bay*; and from the 284<sup>th</sup>, to the 336<sup>th</sup> Degree of Longitude, viz. from the River *Mississipi*, to Cape *Rase* in the Island of *New-Foundland*.<sup>1</sup> I affirm therefore, that *Europe* has but 11 Degrees of Latitude, and 33 of Longitude, more than *Canada*, in which I comprehend the Island of *New-Foundland*, *Acadia*, and all the other Countries that lye to the Northward of the River of St. *Laurence*, which is the pretended great boundary that severs the *French Colonies* from the *English*. Were I to reckon in all the Countries that lye to the North-West of *Canada*, I should

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<sup>1</sup> The claim for Canadian limits as far south as 39° of latitude would extend them nearly to the Ohio River. Longitude was reckoned at this time from west to east entirely around the globe, the prime meridian in most common use being that of the Canary Islands, supposed to be the "Fortunate Isles" of Ptolemy. The longitude of the Mississippi, therefore, at its eastern projection would be about 284°; that of Cape Race was usually estimated at about 330°. — ED.

find it larger than *Europe*: But I confine my self to what is discover'd, known and own'd; I mean, to the Countries in which the *French* trade with the Natives for Beavers, and in which they have Forts, Magazines, Missionaries, and small Settlements.

'Tis above a Century and a half since *Canada* was discover'd. *John Verasan* was the first Discoverer, though he got nothing by it, for the Savages eat him up.<sup>1</sup> *James Cartier* was the next that went thither, but after failing with his Ship above *Quebec*, he return'd to *France* with a sorry opinion of the Country.<sup>2</sup> At last better Sailors were employ'd in the Discovery, and trac'd the River of St. *Laurence* more narrowly: And about the beginning of the last Century, a Colony was sent thither from *Rouan*, which settled there after a great deal of opposition from the Natives.<sup>3</sup> At this day the Colony is so

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<sup>1</sup> Giovanni da Verrazzano was a Florentine navigator, who, sailing under the French flag, explored the coast of North America (1524) from Carolina to Newfoundland. The authenticity of his narrative has been doubted, and for a long time there was a critical controversy concerning his *Relation*; but its genuineness is now generally accepted by historians. See *Old South Leaflets*, No. 17, and authorities therein cited; also Harris, *Discovery of North America* (London and Paris, 1892), pp. 218-228. One of his earliest biographers relates his death upon a later voyage at the hands of the Indians. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of Cartier's explorations, and the recent investigations concerning them, see Pope, *Jacques Cartier* (Ottawa, 1889); Dionne, *Jacques Cartier* (Quebec, 1889). A version of his *Voyages* was published by Stevens (Montreal, 1890). Cartier made three (possibly four) voyages to North America (1534-42), discovered and explored the St. Lawrence as far as Lachine rapids, and made full reports of his adventures. His accounts are far from being as discouraging as Lahontan represents. — ED.

<sup>3</sup> Lahontan here refers to the first permanent settlement of New France, made by Champlain upon the site of Quebec (1608). The colony was fostered by a company of Rouen merchants — see Biggar, *Early Trading Companies of New France* (Toronto, 1901). The opposition of the aborigines is exaggerated by our author. — ED.

populous, that 'tis computed to contain 180000 Souls.<sup>1</sup> I have already given you some account of that Country in [207] my Letters, and therefore shall now only point to the most noted places, and take notice of what may gratifie your curiosity beyond what you have yet heard.

We are at a loss to find the Head of the River of St. Laurence, for tho' we have traced it seven or eight hundred Leagues up, yet we could never reach its source; the remotest place that the *Coueurs de Bois* go to, being the Lake *Lenemipigon*, which disimbogues into the *Upper Lake*, as the *Upper Lake* do's into the Lake of *Hurons*, the Lake of *Hurons* into that of *Erriè* alias *Conti*, and that of *Erriè*, into the Lake of *Frontenac*,<sup>2</sup> which forms this last great River, that runs for twenty Leagues with a pretty gentle Stream, and sweeps thro' thirty more with a very rapid Current, till it reaches the City of *Monreal*; from whence it continues its course with some moderation to the City of *Quebec*; and after that spreads out, and enlarges it self by degrees to its Mouth, which lies a hundred Leagues further. If we may credit the North-Country Savages, this River takes its rise from the great Lake of the *Assinipouals*, which they give out to be larger than any of the Lakes I mention'd but now, being situated at the

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<sup>1</sup> This should be 18,000. Ferland, *Cours d'Histoire du Canada* (Quebec, 1865), ii, p. 390, gives the exact population in 1713 as 18,440, taken from the archives of the diocese of Quebec. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Lake Lenemipigon was the present Nipigon, north of Lake Superior (Upper Lake). For the first exploration of this region see p. 136, note 1, *ante*; also Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904), ii, p. 87, note 45. Lake Ontario was frequently called "Frontenac" by the French. — ED.

distance of fifty or sixty Leagues from the Lake of *Lenemipigon*.<sup>1</sup> The River of St. *Laurence* is 20 or 22 Leagues broad at its Mouth, in the middle of which there's an Island call'd *Anticosti*, which is twenty Leagues long. This Island belongs to the *Sieur Joliet a Canadian*, who has built a little fortify'd Magazine upon it, to guard his Goods and his Family from the Incurfions of the *Eskimaux*, of whom more anon. He deals with the other Savage Nations, namely, the *Montagnois*, and the *Papipanachois* in Arms and Ammunition, by way of exchange for the Skins of Sea-Wolves or Sea-Calves, and some other Furs.<sup>2</sup>

Over againſt this Island, to the Southward of it, we find the Isle call'd *L'Isle Percée*, which is a great Rock with a paſſage bor'd through it, in which [208] the Sloops can only paſs.<sup>3</sup> In time of Peace the *Biscayans* of *France*, and the *Normans*, us'd to fiſh for Cod at this place: For here that Fiſh are very plentiful, and at the ſame time larger, and more proper for drying than thoſe of *New-Foundland*. But there are two great Inconveniencies that attend the fiſhing

<sup>1</sup> The Assinipouals were the present Assiniboin Indians, a large Siouan tribe of the Northwest region. The lake here referred to was Winnipeg. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> For Jolliet and the seignoiry of Anticosti, see pp. 243, 244, note 2, *ante*. The Indians mentioned are noticed on p. 261, note 2. — ED.

<sup>3</sup> Isle Percé (now called Percé Rock) is a remarkable cliff of primitive rock separated from the mainland of Gaspé by the action of the waves and ice, which have also worn through it a great arch from which the islet takes its name. The village of Percé, near by, is one of the oldest and most interesting fishing stations on the continent. For an excellent and well-illustrated description, see Clarke, "Percé: a brief sketch of its geology," in *Report of New York State Paleontologist*, 1903. — ED.

upon this Island; one is, that the Ships ride in great danger, unless they have good Anchors and strong Cables; another Inconvenience is, that this place affords neither Gravel nor Flint-stones to stretch out the Fish upon before the Sun, and that the Fishermen are forc'd to make use of a sort of Hurdles.

There are other Fishing-places besides this, which lie some Leagues higher up upon the same side of the River. Such is that call'd *Gaspè*, where the Ships Crew sometimes trade in Skins with the *Gaspéians*, to the prejudice of the Proprietors of this River. The other places for Cod-fish lie toward *Monts notre dame*, in the little Bays or Rivers that empty themselves into the River of St. *Laurence*.<sup>1</sup>

On the other side of the River, there lies the wide extended Country of *Labrador*, or of the *Eskimaux*, who are such a wild barbarous People, that no means whatsoever, have hitherto been able to civilize 'em. One would think that good old *Homer* had this People in his view, when he speaks of the Cyclopes; for the Character of the one, suits the other admirably well, as it appears from these four Verses, in the ninth

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<sup>1</sup> Gaspé is an Indian term signifying "that which is separated," and originally applied only to Cape Forillon, a lonely detached rock at the extremity of the peninsula. It is now extended to the entire broad peninsula between the St. Lawrence and the Bay of Chaleurs, the coast of which is dotted with French-Canadian fishing villages. *Monts Notre Dame* was the early name for the Chicchack (Shickshock) range, which traverses the peninsula and forms the watershed. The interior of Gaspé is still a forested wilderness, and the home of big game. At several points wealthy Americans have of recent years bought large tracts for game preserves; on the other hand, the lumber industry, also largely capitalized by Americans, is rapidly making inroads into the forest. — ED.

Book of his *Odyſſea*, which are ſo pretty, that I cannot forbear inferring them in this place.

Ταῖσιν δ' ἔτ' ἀγροαὶ βεληφόροι ἔπε θεμίδης.  
 Ἀλλ' οἷγ' ὑψηλῶν ὄρεων νόοισι κάθηται  
 Ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσι θεμιστεύει δὲ ἔκαστος  
 Παίδων ἠδ' ἀλόνων ἐδ' ἀλλήλων ἀλέγροισι,

[209] That is; this People do not perplex themselves with voluminous Laws, and vexatious Suits; they delight only in the tops of Mountains, and deep Caves, and every one confines his care to the management of his own Family, without troubling his Head about his Neighbour. The *Danes* were the first discoverers of this Country, which is full of Ports, Havens, and Bays, that the *Quebec* Barques resort to in the Summer, in order to truck with the Savages for the Skins of Sea-Calves.<sup>1</sup> The Commerce I speak of, is carried on after this manner. As soon as the *Quebec* Barques come to an Anchor, these Devils come on board of them in their little Canows made of the Skins of Sea-Calves, in the form of a Weavers Shuttle, with a hole in the middle of it, resembling that of a Purse, in which they stow themselves with Ropes, fitting squat upon their Brech. Being set in this fashion they row with little Slices, sometimes to the Right, and sometimes to the Left, without bending their Body for fear of Over-

<sup>1</sup> It is not probable that Lahontan here refers to the early discovery of this country by the Norsemen. Gomara, in *Histoire Generale des Indes Occidentales et Terres neuves*, translated into French and published in 1569, declares that the Bretons and Danes made the first voyages to Baccaleos—a term used for both the Newfoundland and Labrador coasts. Lahontan is probably following this authority, or a similar one, for his historical remarks; the description of the trading is evidently the report of an eye witness. — ED.



setting. As soon as they are near the Barque, they hold up their Skins upon the end of the Oar, and at the same time make a demand of so many Knives, Powder, Ball, Fufees, Axes, Kettles, &c. In fine, every one shews what he has, and mentions what he expects in exchange: And so when the Bargain is concluded, they deliver and receive their Goods upon the end of a Stick. As these pitiful Fellows use the precaution of not going on board of our Boats, so we take care not to suffer too great a number of Canows to surround us; for they have carry'd off oftner than once, some of our small Vessels, at a time when the Seamen were busied in hauling in the Skins, and delivering out the other Goods. Here, we are oblig'd to be very vigilant in the Night-time, for they know how to make great Sloops, that will hold thirty or forty Men, and run as fast as the Wind: And 'tis for this [210] reason that the *Malouins*, who fish for Cod at *Petit Nord*, and the *Spaniards* who follow the same Fishery at *Portochoua*,<sup>1</sup> are oblig'd to fit out long Barques to scour the Coast and pursue 'em; for almost every year they surprise some of the Crew on shoar, and cut their Throats, and sometimes they carry off the Vessel. We are assur'd, that their number of Warriours, or Men that bear Arms, amounts to thirty thousand; but they are such cowardly fellows, that five hundred *Clifino's* from *Hudsons*

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<sup>1</sup> French fishers from St. Malo and other Breton towns were among the earliest explorers of the Newfoundland coast. They termed all of the great upper peninsula of the island, from White Bay northward, *Petit Nord*, and it was their favorite fishing ground. The Spanish Basque fishermen frequented the northwest coast, and their port was *Portachua*, now called Old Port au Choix. — ED.

*Bay*, used to defeat five or six thousand of them.<sup>1</sup> They are possess'd of a very large Country, extending from over against the Isles of *Mingan* to *Hudsons* Streight. They cross over to the Island of *Newfound-Land* every day, at the Streight of *Belie* Isle, which is not above seven Leagues over; but they never came so far as *Placentia*, for fear of meeting with other Savages there.

*Hudson's Bay* adjoins to this *Terra of Labrador*, and extends from the 52<sup>d</sup> Degree and thirty Minutes to the 63 of Latitude. The Original of its name was this. Captain *Henry Hudson*, an *English* Man by Birth, obtain'd a Ship from the *Dutch*, in order to trace a passage to *China* through an imaginary Streight to the Northward of *North-America*. He had first form'd a design of going by the way of *Nova Zembla*; but upon seeing the Memoirs of a *Danish* Pilot, who was a friend of his, he drop'd that thought. This Pilot, namely, *Frederick Anschild*, had set out from *Norway* or *Tslandia*, some years before, with a design to find out a Passage to *Japan* by *Davis's* Streight, which is the Chimerical Streight I spoke of.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The *Cristinaux* (Killistnoe, Clistino) Indians are a large branch of the Algonquian family, that roam the Hudson Bay country and far to the west. They are now known as the Cree, their present number being reckoned at twelve thousand. For further details of this tribe see Henry, *Travels and Adventures* (Bain, ed., Boston, 1901), p. 246. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> The standard authority for the voyages of Hudson is Asher, *Henry Hudson the Navigator* (London, 1860), printed for the Hakluyt Society, vol. xxvii. The editor in his introduction says that the story of the Danish pilot Anschild (Anskoeld) is a myth, growing out of the expedition of a Pole, Johannes Kolnus, whose voyage (1476) was cited by the geographers of the sixteenth century in distorted terms. See also Read, *Historical Inquiry concerning Henry Hudson* (Albany, 1866); De Costa, *Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson* (Albany, 1869). — ED.

The first Land he descry'd was *Savage Bay*, seated on the North side of the *Terra of Labrador*; then sweeping along the Coast, he enter'd a Streight, which about twenty or thirty years afterwards, was christen'd *Hudson's Streight*. After that, steering to the Westward, he came upon some [211] Coast that run North and South; upon which he stood to the North, flattering himself with the hopes of finding an open passage to cross the Sea of *Jeffo*; but after failing to the Latitude of the Polar Circle, and running the risque of perishing in the Ice, I do not know how often, without meeting with any passage or open Sea, he took up a resolution of turning back; but the Season was then so far advanc'd, and the Ice so cover'd up the surface of the Water, that he was forc'd to put in to *Hudson's Bay*, and winter there in a Harbour, where several Savages furnish'd his Crew with Provisions and excellent Skins. As soon as the Sea was open, he return'd to *Denmark*. Now, Captain *Hudson* being afterwards acquainted with this *Dane*, undertook upon his Journals to attempt a passage to *Japan* through the Streight of *Davis*; but the Enterprize fail'd, as well as that of one *Button*, and some others.<sup>1</sup> However, *Hudson* put in to the Bay that now goes

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<sup>1</sup> From 1576 to 1632 there were sixteen English voyages of exploration for a Northwest Passage. That of John Davis, whose name is commemorated in Davis Strait, occurred in 1585. The same navigator made two later voyages to Arctic regions, and was finally murdered by Japanese pirates in the East Indies (1606). See Markham, "Voyages and Works of John Davis, Navigator" (London, 1880), *Publications of Hakluyt Society*, No. 59. Sir Thomas Button followed on the track of Henry Hudson, and explored the great bay bearing the latter's name (1612-13); he was knighted for his services. See Christy, *Voyages of Captain Luke Foxe and Captain Thomas James* (London, 1894), Hakluyt Society, No. 88. — ED.

by his name, where he receiv'd a great quantity of Skins from the Savages; after that, he discover'd *New Holland*, which is now call'd *New-York*,<sup>1</sup> and some other Countries retaining to *New-England*: upon the whole, 'tis not fair to call this Streight and this Bay, by the name of *Hudson*; in regard that the abovemention'd *Dane*, *Frederick Ansbild*, was the first discoverer of them; he being the first *European* that descry'd the Countries of North-America, and chalk'd out the way to the others. Upon this *Hudson's* Journals, the *English* made several attempts to settle a Commerce with the *Americans*. The great quantity of Beaver-Skins and other Furs that he purchas'd of the Savages while he Winter'd in the Bay, put the notion into the heads of some *English* Merchants, who thereupon form'd a Company for the carrying on of this New Commerce. With this view, they fitted out some Ships under the command of Captain *Nelson*, who lost some of 'em in the Ice not far from the [212] Streight, having escap'd narrowly himself. However, he enter'd the Bay, and plac'd himself at the Mouth of a great River, which rises towards the Lake of the *Afimpouals*, and falls into the Bay at a place where he built a Redoubt, and mounted some Cannon upon it.<sup>2</sup> In the space

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<sup>1</sup> Hudson did not discover the great bay of that name until his fourth voyage (1610-11), whence he never returned. His exploration of New Holland (preferably New Netherlands) occurred upon his third voyage (1609). — ED.

<sup>2</sup> This voyage of Nelson is hypothetical, apparently invented to account for the name Nelson River. The wintering place at its mouth was named Port Nelson by Button, in honor of his sailing master, who died and was buried there; thence the name extended to the river. In the confusion of Lahontan's account, it is uncertain whether he refers to the organization of the Hudson's Bay Company (1670), or to the

of three or four years after, the *English* made some other little Forts near that River, which prov'd a considerable baulk to the Commerce of the *French*, who found that the Savages who us'd to deal with 'em in Furs on the North side of the upper Lake, were not then to be seen.

It came to pass in process of time, but how I cannot tell, that one *Ratiffon*, and one *Grozelier*, met in that great Lake some *Cliftino*'s, who promis'd to conduct 'em to the bottom of the Bay, where the *English* had not yet penetrated. In effect, the *Cliftino*'s were as good as their word; for they shew'd 'em the place they spoke of, besides several other Rivers upon which there was a fair prospect of making such Settlements, as would carry on a great trade in Skins with several Savage Nations.<sup>1</sup> These two *Frenchmen* return'd to the Upper Lake, the same way that they went, and from thence made the best of their way to *Quebec*, where they offer'd to the chief Merchants of the place, to carry Ships to *Hudson's Bay*; but their

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incorporation of "The Company of the Merchants of London, Discoverers of the North-West Passage," which latter received its charter in 1612 (Hakluyt Society, No. 89, pp. 642-664). — ED.

<sup>1</sup> Pierre Esprit Radisson and Médard Chouart des Groseilliers were among the most interesting and daring adventurers of the early years of New France. It is not beyond probability that Lahontan had known them either in Canada or at the English court. Their alleged overland visit to Hudson Bay, on what is known as their "fourth voyage," is open to doubt. For the evidence see Campbell, "Radisson and Groseilliers," in *Parkman Club Papers* (Milwaukee, 1896); *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 1895, pp. 88-116; Bryce, *The Remarkable History of Hudson's Bay Company* (Toronto, 1900), pp. 4-7. The latter author (pp. 39-46) has unearthed some new evidence concerning Radisson's later life and death in England (1710). *Radisson's Voyages* (Boston, 1885) are published by the Prince Society, No. 16; see also *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 64-96; Dionne, "Chouart et Radisson," in *Can. Roy. Soc. Proceedings*, 1893, 1894. — ED.

Project was rejected. In fine, having met with this repulse, they went to *France*, in hopes of a more favourable hearing at Court : But after the presenting of Memorial upon Memorial, and spending a great deal of Money, they were treated as whimsical Fellows. Upon that occasion the King of *England's* Ambassadour did not lose the opportunity of perswading them to go to *London*, where they met with such a favourable Reception, that they got several Ships, which they carry'd to the Bay, not without difficulty, and built several Forts in different places, [213] that did great service in promoting the Commerce.<sup>1</sup> Then the Court of *France* repented, though too late, that they did not give ear to their Memorials: and finding no other remedy, resolv'd to dislodge the *English* at any rate. In effect, they attack'd 'em vigorously by Sea and Land, and dispossess'd 'em of all their Forts, excepting Fort *Nelson*, where they could not expect such an easie Conquest.<sup>2</sup> Some years after, the *English* resolv'd to use their utmost efforts to retake these Posts; and their resolution was crown'd with Success, for they dislodg'd the *French* in their turn, and at this day the

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<sup>1</sup> The first permanent trading fort (or factory) in Hudson Bay was that erected by Groseilliers upon Rupert River in the autumn of 1668, and christened Fort Charles in honor of the king. The success of this trading venture led to the chartering (1670) of the Hudson's Bay Company. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Radisson organized an expedition in the French interest in 1682, set out for the bay, captured a ship and the English governor, and built Fort Bourbon not far from Fort Nelson. Upon his return (1684), when France was on the point of dispatching another squadron under his guidance, he deserted to the English, returned to Fort Bourbon, and retook it and its furs in the interest of the Company. The authorities of New France resolved on retribution, and an overland expedition (1685-87), headed by De Troyes and d'Iberville captured all the forts except that upon Nelson River. See p. 217, note 3, *ante*. — ED.

*French* are making preparations to repay 'em in their own Coin.<sup>1</sup>

That Country is so cold for seven or eight Months of the year, that the Sea freezes ten Foot deep, the Trees and the very Stones split, the Snow is ten or twelve Foot deep upon the Ground, for above six Months of the year, and during that season, no body can stir out of Doors, without running the risque of having their Nose, Ears and Feet mortified by the Cold. The passage from *Europe* to that Country is so difficult and dangerous, by reason of the Ice and the Currents, that one must be reduc'd to the last degree of misery, or be blind to a foolish heighth, that undertakes such a wretched Voyage.

'Tis now time to pass from *Hudson's Bay*, to the *Superior* or *Upper Lake*. 'Tis easier to make this Voyage upon Paper, than to go actually through it; for you must sail almost a hundred Leagues up the River of *Macbakandibi*, which is so rapid and full of Cataracts, that a light Canow work'd by six Watermen, shall not fail 'em under thirty or thirty five days. At the head of this River we meet with a little Lake of the same name, from whence we are oblig'd to a Land-carriage of seven Leagues, to get at the River of *Michipikoton*, which we run down in ten or twelve days, though at the same [214] time we

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<sup>1</sup> After the first Canadian punitive expedition (see preceding note), each nation made frequent armed attempts to dislodge the other from the lucrative trading posts of Hudson Bay. See the brief summary in Bryce, *Hudson's Bay Company*, pp. 47-55. Lahontan probably refers to the preparations being made for d'Iberville's brilliant expedition of 1697. The French were not finally expelled from the forts on the lower, or James, Bay until after the treaty of Utrecht (1713). — ED.

have several Land-carriages upon it: For going down this River we pass several Cataracts, where we are oblig'd either to carry our Canows by Land, or to drag 'em back again.<sup>1</sup> Thus we arrive at the *Upper Lake*, which is reckon'd to be five hundred Leagues in Circumference, including the windings of the Creeks, and little Gulfs. This little fresh-water Sea is calm enough from the beginning of *May*, to the end of *September*. The South side is the safest for the Canows, by reason of the many Bays, and little Rivers, where one may put in in case of a Storm. There is no settled Savage Nation upon the brinks of the Lake, that I know of. 'Tis true indeed, that in Summer several Northern Nations come to Hunt and Fish in these parts, and bring with 'em the Beaver-Skins they have got in the Winter, in order to truck with the *Coueurs de Bois*, who do not fail to meet 'em there every year. The places where the Interview happens, are *Bagouasch*, *Lemipisaki*, and *Chagouamigon*.<sup>2</sup> 'Tis some years since Mr. *Dulbut* built

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<sup>1</sup> Probably Lahontan had conversed at Mackinac with natives or coureurs des bois who described the journey from Hudson Bay to Lake Superior. The "River of Mac-hakandibi" is likely the present Moose River, whence the portage to the Michipicton is not long. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> It is probable that Lahontan had his information concerning Lake Superior from Duluth (see p. 73, note 1, *ante*), who roamed this region for a dozen years. Bagouasch is a river on the north side of the lake, east of Nipigon, where, according to an inscription upon a map of 1756, Duluth had had a fort. Neill, *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 417, identifies (but without giving reasons) Lemipisaki with Nipigon; but there is a greater probability that it was Nemitsakouat, at Bois Brulé River, which empties into Lake Superior to the west of Chequamegon Bay; Duluth had a rendezvous with the Indians, on the Bois Brulé. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 108. Chequamegon was a well-known post on the present bay of that name, where a fort was first built by Radisson and Groseilliers. See Thwaites, "Story of Chequamegon," in *How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest*, etc. (Chicago, 1903). — ED.



a Fort of Pales or Stakes upon this Lake, where he had large Magazines of all sorts of Goods. That Fort was call'd *Camanistigoyan*, and did considerable Disservice to the *English* Settlements in *Hudson's Bay*; by reason that it sav'd several Nations the trouble of transporting their Skins to that Bay.<sup>1</sup> Upon that Lake we find Copper Mines, the Mettal of which is so fine and plentiful, that there is not a seventh part loss from the Oar.<sup>2</sup> It has some pretty large Islands, which are replenish'd with Elks and wild Affes; but there's scarce any that goes to hunt upon 'em, by reason of the danger of crossing over. In fine, this Lake abounds with Sturgeons, Trouts, and white Fish. The Climate is unsufferably cold for six Months of the year, and the Snow join'd to the Frost, commonly freezes the Water of the Lake for ten or twelve Leagues over.

[215] From the *Superiour or Upper Lake*, I steer to that of *Hurons*, to which I allot four hundred Leagues in Circumference. Now to make this Lake, you must sail down by the fall call'd *Saut St. Mary*, which I describ'd in my fifteenth Letter. This Lake is situated in a fine Climate, as you'll perceive from

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<sup>1</sup> Kamanistiquia (*Camanistigoyan*) was the site of Duluth's first western fort, erected in 1678. It was later abandoned until 1717, when the Canadian authorities sent *Sieur de la Noué* to restore it. This post was maintained throughout the French regime, and was the site of the famous Fort William, the North West Company's headquarters well into the nineteenth century. It was at the mouth of Three Rivers, and commanded the Grand Portage route to the interior, along what is now the boundary between Minnesota and Ontario. The locations on Lahontan's map are obviously incorrect. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> For early copper mines on the shores of Lake Superior, consult *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, xvii. — ED.





the Map. The North side of it is best for the Navigation of Canows, by reason of the frequency of Isles which afford shelter in bad Weather. The South side is pleasanter, and more convenient for the Hunting of Deer, which are there very plentiful. The figure of this Lake comes near to an equilateral Triangle. Of all its Isles, that call'd *Manitoualin*, is the most considerable, being above twenty Leagues long, and ten broad. In former times, the *Outaouas* of the Nations of *Talon* and *Sable* dwelt in it; but the dread they were under upon the account of the *Iroquese*, oblig'd both them and their Neighbours to retire to *Missilimakinac*. That part of the Continent that faces this Island, is inhabited by the *Nockès* and the *Missitagues*, in two different Villages, which are twenty Leagues distant, the one from the other.<sup>1</sup> Towards the East end of this Island, we fall in with the River *des Francois*, which I took notice of in my sixteenth Letter. 'Tis as broad as the *Seine* is at *Paris*, and runs not above forty Leagues in length from its source in the Lake *Nepicerini*, to its Mouth. To the North-West of this River, there lies the Bay of *Toronto*, which is twenty, or five and twenty Leagues long, and fifteen broad at its Mouth. This Bay receives a River that springs from a little Lake of the same name, and forms several Cataracts that

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<sup>1</sup> For Manitoulin Island and its inhabitants, see p. 153, note 2, *ante*. The Nocké (Noquets) were an Algonquian tribe that early merged with others of the same family — see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 117, 360; they left their name upon two bays in Upper Michigan. The Mississagua occupied the north shore of Lake Huron, and later built villages in the peninsula between Lakes Erie and Ontario. In 1901 they numbered about eight hundred, settled upon reservations in Ontario. — Ed.

are equally impracticable both upon the ascent and descent.<sup>1</sup> Upon the side of this River you'll see a Man's Head mark'd in my Map, which signifies a large Village of the *Hurons*, that was destroy'd by the *Iroquesse*. You may go from the source of this River to the [216] Lake *Frontenac*, by making a Land-carriage to the River of *Tanaouate*, that falls into that Lake.<sup>2</sup> Upon the South side of the Bay of *Toronto*, you see the Fort call'd *Fort Supposé*, which I mention'd in my 23<sup>d</sup> Letter, and about thirty Leagues to the Southward of that, you find the Country of *Theonontate*, which being formerly inhabited by the *Hurons*, was entirely depopulated by the *Iroquesse*.<sup>3</sup>

From thence I pass directly to my Fort, without amusing you with the different Landskips I met with in the space of thirty Leagues. That Fort I have spoke so often of already, that without stopping there, I shall run directly to the Bay of *Sakinac*, reckoning it needless at the same time, to take any notice of the many Shelves and Rocks that lye hid under the Water for two Leagues off the Coast. This Bay is sixteen or seventeen Leagues long, and six broad at its Mouth: In the middle of which we meet with two little Islands, that are very serviceable to the Passengers; for if it were not for the con-

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<sup>1</sup> Concerning the Bay of Toronto, see p. 273, note 1, *ante*. The text should read southwest, instead of northwest. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Lake Toronto is the modern Simcoe, whence the entire region was often called Toronto; see Scadding, *Toronto of Old* (Toronto, 1893). The "River of Tanouate," which appears upon a map of 1746, is to be identified with the chain of lakes ending in Trent River, falling into Quinté Bay. Lahontan's reference may be to the present Humber River, as the Toronto portage was used upon both or either of these routes. — ED.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 154, note 2, *ante*. — ED.

venience of putting in there, they would be oblig'd for the most part, rather to march quite round the Bay, than to run the hazard of crossing directly over in a Canow.<sup>1</sup> The River of *Sakinac* falls into the bottom of the Bay. This River runs sixty Leagues in length, with a gentle Current, having only three little Cataracts that one may shoot without danger. 'Tis as broad as the *Seine* is at *Seve* Bridge. Once in two years the *Outaouas* and the *Hurons*, are wont to hunt great quantities of Beavers upon the confines of the River of *Sakinac*. Between the River I now speak of, and *Missilimakinac*, we meet with no place that is worth our regard. As for *Missilimakinac* it self, I have already imparted to you all that I can say of that Post, which is of so great importance to our Commerce, and at the same time sent you a draught of it. I shall therefore pursue my course to the Lake *Errie*, remembering that I [217] describ'd the *Ilinefe* Lake in my sixteenth Letter.

The Lake *Errie* is justly dignified with the illustrious name of *Conti*; for assuredly 'tis the finest Lake upon Earth. You may judge of the goodness of the Climate, from the Latitudes of the Countries that surround it. Its Circumference extends to two hundred and thirty Leagues; but it affords every where such a charming Prospect, that its Banks are deck'd with Oak-Trees, Elms, Chestnut-Trees, Walnut-Trees, Apple-Trees, Plum-Trees, and Vines which bear their fine clusters up to the very top of the Trees, upon a sort of ground that lies as smooth as one's Hand. Such Ornaments as these, are suffi-

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 143, *ante*. The islands were probably those now known as the Charity group. — ED.

cient to give rise to the most agreeable *Idea* of a Landskip in the World. I cannot express what vast quantities of Deer and Turkeys are to be found in these Woods, and in the vast Meads that lye upon the South side of the Lake. At the bottom of the Lake, we find wild Beeves upon the Banks of two pleasant Rivers that disembogue into it, without Cataracts or rapid Currents. It abounds with Sturgeon and white Fish; but Trouts are very scarce in it, as well as the other Fish that we take in the Lakes of *Hurons* and *Ilinefe*. 'Tis clear of Shelves, Rocks, and Banks of Sand; and has fourteen or fifteen fathom Water. The Savages assure us, that 'tis never disturb'd with high Winds, but in the Months of *December*, *January*, and *February*, and even then but seldom, which indeed I am very apt to believe, for we had but very few Storms, when I winter'd in my Fort in 1688, though the Fort lay open to the Lake of *Hurons*. The Banks of this Lake are commonly frequented by none but Warriours, whether the *Iroquefe*, the *Ilinefe*, the *Oumamis*, &c. and 'tis very dangerous to stop there. By this means it comes to pass, that the Stags, Roe-Bucks and Turkeys, run in great Bodies up and down the shoar, all round the Lake. In former times the *Errieronons*, [218] and the *Andastogueronons*, liv'd upon the Confines of this Lake, but they were extirpated by the *Iroquefe*, as well as the other Nations mark'd in the Map.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The identity of the Erie nation is much in doubt—see *Jesuit Relations*, xxi, pp. 313–315; but their habitat was originally south of Lake Erie, named for them. Andastes was a generic term by which the French designated a congeries of tribes in Pennsylvania, among whom were those known to the Dutch as Minquas, and to the

Upon the North side of the Lake we descry a point of Land, that shoots fifteen Leagues into the Main<sup>1</sup>; and about thirty Leagues beyond that to the Eastward, we meet with a small River that takes its rise near the Bay of *Ganaraské*, in the Lake of *Frontenac*; and would afford a short passage from the one Lake to the other, if 'twere not incumber'd with Cataracts.<sup>2</sup> From thence to the Streight or Mouth of the Lake, you have thirty Leagues; the Streight being a League over, and fourteen Leagues long. Upon this Streight you see *Fort Supposè* mark'd in the Map, which is one of the Forts that I mention'd in my 23<sup>d</sup> Letter. From that imaginary Fort to the River of *Condè*, we have twenty Leagues.

The River of *Condè* runs sixty Leagues in length without Cataracts, if we may credit the Savages, who assur'd me, that one may go from its source to another River that falls into the Sea, without any other Land-carriage than one of a League in length, between the [one] River and the other.<sup>3</sup> I saw only the Mouth of the first River, where our *Outaouas* tried their Limbs, as I told you in my fifteenth Letter. The Islands that you see mark'd in the Map at the bottom of the Lake *Erriè*,

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English as Susquehannocks, or Conestogas. All these tribes were of Huron-Iroquois stock, but at war with the Five Nations. The suffix *ronons* (roanu) signified people, or tribe. — ED.

<sup>1</sup> For Long Point, Lake Erie, see p. 138, *ante*. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> The bay which Lahontan calls "Ganaraské," is usually designated upon maps of the period as Ganadoké, and is the present Hamilton Bay, or rather all the western end of Lake Ontario. It seems likely that the river must be the present Grand, which, as Lahontan indicates, was too rugged for a trade route. — ED.

<sup>3</sup> For the River of Condé, see p. 155, note 1, *ante*. Lahontan has here a confused notion of the Ohio, probably taken from Indian descriptions. — ED.



are replenish'd with Roe-Bucks, and with Fruit-Trees, which nature has generously provided, in order to entertain the Turkeys, Feafants and Deer with their Fruit. In fine, if there were a clear and free paffage for Veffels, from *Quebec* to this Lake, it might be made the fineft, the richeft, and the moft fertile Kingdom in the World: For over and above all the beauties I have mention'd, there are excellent Silver Mines about twenty Leagues up the Country, upon a certain Hill, from whence the Savages brought [219] us great lumps, that have yielded that precious Metal with little wafte.

From the Lake *Erriè*, I fteer my courfe to that of *Frontenac*, which I could not forbear to fpeak of in my feventh and feventeenth Letters. This Lake (as I intimated above) is 180 Leagues in Circumference, its figure is Oval, and its depth runs between twenty and twenty five Fathom. On the South fide it receives feveral little Rivers, particularly thofe of the *Tfonontouans*, of the *Onnontagues*, and of the *Famine*<sup>1</sup>; on the North fide 'tis joyn'd by the Rivers of *Ganaraske*, and of *Teonontatè*. Its fides are deck'd with tall Trees, and the ground is indifferent even and level, for it has no fteep Coafts. On the North fide we meet with feveral little Gulfs. You may go from this Lake to that of *Hurons*, by going up the River *Tanaouate*, from whence you have a Land-carriage of fix or eight Leagues to the River of *Toronto*, which falls into it. You may likewise have a paffage from the Lake of *Frontenac*, to that of *Erriè*, through the Bay of *Ganaraskè*, by making a

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<sup>1</sup>The Genessee, Oswego, and Salmon Rivers, New York. See p. 72, note 1, *ante*. — ED.

Land-carriage from thence to a little River that's full of Cataracts. The Villages of the *Onnontagues*, *Tjonontouans*, *Goyogouans*, and *Onnoyouates*, are not far distant from the Lake of *Frontenac*.<sup>1</sup> These *Iroquese* Nations are very advantageously seated. They have a pleasant and fertile Country; but they want Roe-Bucks and Turkeys, as well as Fish, of which their Rivers are altogether destitute, insomuch that they are forc'd to fish in the Lake, and to broil or dry their Fish with a Fire, in order to keep 'em and transport 'em to their Villages. They are in like manner forc'd to range out of their own Territories, in quest of Beavers in the Winter time, either towards *Ganaraskè*, or to the sides of the Lake of *Toronto*, or else towards the great River of the *Outaouas*; where 'twould be an easie matter to cut all their Throats, by pursuing the course I laid down in my [220] Letters. I have already touch'd upon the Forts of *Frontenac* and *Niagara*; as well as upon the River of *St. Laurence*, which here takes leave of the Lakes, and pursues a compacter course to *Monreal* and *Quebec*, where its waters mingling with those of the Sea, become so brackish, that they are not drinkable.

It remains only to give you a Description of *Acadia*, and the Island of *Newfound-Land*, which are two Countries that differ widely from one another. The Coast of *Acadia* extends from *Kenebeki*, one of the Frontiers of *New-England*, to *l'Isle Percée*, near the Mouth of the River of *St. Laurence*. This Sea-Coast runs almost three hundred Leagues in length, and

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<sup>1</sup> For the names of the Iroquois tribes, see p. 58, *ante*. — ED.

has upon it two great Navigable Bays, namely, the Bay call'd *Françoise*, and the Bay *des Chaleurs*.<sup>1</sup> It has a great many little Rivers, the Mouths of which are deep, and clean enough for the greatest Ships. These Rivers would afford a plentiful Salmon-fishery, if there were any body to undertake it; and most of 'em as well as the Gulfs that lies before 'em, furnish such Cods as we take at the *Isle Percée*. For in the Summer time, that sort of Fish make in to the Coast in Shoals, especially about the Islands of Cape Breton, and of St. John.<sup>2</sup> 'Tis true, the latter has no Harbours, and the former has none that receive any Vessel above the burthen of a Barque; but if these two Islands were peopled, the Inhabitants might fit out Sloops to manage the Fishery; and towards the latter end of *August*, when the Fish are cur'd and ready, the Ships might come to an Anchor near the Land, and so take 'em in. Two Gentlemen of the name of *Amour* of *Quebec*<sup>3</sup>, have a Settlement

<sup>1</sup> Bay Française was the early name for the Bay of Fundy, which was first adequately explored by Champlain (1604-08). The tercentenary of Champlain's landfall on the shores of the Bay of Fundy was appropriately celebrated in June, 1904: at Annapolis Royal (old Port Royal), the 21st and 22d, by the Nova Scotia Historical Society; at St. John, the 23d and 24th, by the New Brunswick Historical Society; at Isle St. Croix, at the head of Passamaquoddy Bay, the 25th, by the Maine Historical Society.

The Bay of Chaleurs was so named by Cartier, who (1534) experienced great heat therein. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> St. John (St. Jean) was the present Prince Edward's Island. Harisse has shown (*Découverte de Terre-Neuve*) that the former name was first (1505) applied to the northeastern portion of Cape Breton Island, and afterwards by a misconception given to the smaller island in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Cape Breton was the name used first for the southeast extremity of the island, now known by that name, because it was the haunt of certain fishers from Brittany. Later, the term was extended to the entire island, thus succeeding the name St. John. — ED.

<sup>3</sup> Three sons of Mathieu d'Amours, councillor of the King at Quebec, received

for Beaver-hunting upon the River of *St. John*; which is a very pleasant River, and adorn'd with Fields that are very fertile in Grain. 'Tis Navigable for twelve Leagues up, from its Mouth. Between the point of *Acadia*, and the Island [221] of *Cape Breton*, there is a Channel or Streight about two Leagues in breadth, which is deep enough to carry the greatest Ships in *France*. 'Tis call'd the pass *des Canseaux*,<sup>1</sup> and would be much more frequented than it is, if the Merchant-men bound to *Canada*, would set out from *France* about the 15th of *March*; for then they might pass that way, being assur'd of a clear passage at all seasons of the year, whereas the Channel of *Cape de Raye*, is oftentimes cover'd with Ice in *April*: And by this contrivance, the Ships would arrive at *Quebec* in the beginning of *May*.

Most of the Countries of *Acadia* abound with Corn, Pease, Fruit, and Pulse; and have a plain distinction of the four Seasons of the year, notwithstanding that 'tis extream cold for three Months in Winter. Several places of *Acadia*, afford Mafts as strong as those we have from *Norway*; and if there were occasion, all sorts of Ships might be built there: For if you'll believe the Carpenters, the Oak of that Country is

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grants on St. John River in 1684, and established what was known as "seigneuries sauvages"—stations for trade, hunting, and fishing—and a kind of pre-eminence over the neighboring Indians. Two of this family, René and Mathieu, aided (1696) in the defense of the St. John against the English. — Ed.

<sup>1</sup> The strait of Canso (Campceaux, Canseaux) lies between Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island. The word is undoubtedly of Indian origin, and was first applied to the point at the southeastern extremity of the mainland. On his map of 1612 Champlain called the strait "Le Passage Courant"; but by 1632 it appears as that of Campseau. — Ed.

better than ours in *Europe*. In a word, 'tis a very fine Country; the Climate is indifferent temperate, the Air is pure and wholesom, the Waters clear and light, and there's good accommodation for Hunting, Shooting, and Fishing. The Animals that we meet with there most commonly, are Beavers, Otters, and Sea-Calves, all of 'em being very numerous. Those who love Meat are indebted to the Doctors, who perswaded the Popes to Metamorphose these terrestrial Animals into Fish; for they are allow'd to eat of 'em without scruple in the time of *Lent*. To be plain, the knowledge I have of that Country, makes me foresee that the *English* will be masters of it some time or other. I could give very plausible reasons for the Prophecy. They have already begun to ruine the Commerce that the *French* had with the Savages, and in a short time, they'll compass its intire Destruction. The [222] *French* they will prize their Goods too high, though they are not so good as those of the *English*; and yet the *English* sell their Commodities cheaper. 'Twere a pity that we should tamely leave to the *English* a Country, the Conquest of which they have attempted so often, in consideration of our Fur-trade and Cod-fishing. 'Tis impossible to hinder 'em to possess themselves of the Settlements upon the Coast of *Acadia*, by reason that they lye at such a distance from one another; so that they'll certainly succeed in such Enterprises, as indeed they have done already. The *French* Governours, they act with the same view, as many of those who are employ'd in Posts beyond Sea. They look upon their place as a Gold Mine given 'em, in order to enrich themselves; so that the

publick Good, must always march behind private Interest. Mr. *de Meneval* suffer'd the *English* to possess themselves of *Port Royal*, because that place was cover'd with nothing but single Palissado's. But why was it not better fortified? I can tell you the reason; he thought he had time enough to fill his Pockets, before the *English* would attack it. This Governour succeeded to Mr. *Perrot*, who was broke with Disgrace, for having made it his chief business to enrich himself; and after returning to *France*, went back again with several Ships laden with Goods, in order to set up for a private Merchant in that Country. While Mr. *Perrot* was Governour, he suffer'd the *English* to possess themselves of several advantageous Posts, without offering to stir. His chief business was to go in Barques from River to River, in order to traffick with the Savages: And after he was disgrac'd, he was not contented with a Commerce upon the Coasts of *Acadia*, but would needs extend it to the *English* Plantations; but it cost him dear, for some Pyrates fell in with him, and after seizing his Barques, duck'd himself, upon which he died immediately.<sup>1</sup>

[223] The three principal Savage Nations that live upon the Coasts of *Acadia*, are the *Abenakis*, the *Mikemak*, and the *Canibas*.<sup>2</sup> There are some other erratick Nations, who go and

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<sup>1</sup> For a sketch of *Perrot* see p. 53, note 2, *ante*; it is generally believed that *Lahontan's* strictures upon his rapacious conduct are justifiable. He was not killed by the pirates (1690), but rescued by a French privateer, being again in *Acadia* in 1691. See *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ix, p. 475. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> *Abenaki* was a generic term for the Algonquian Indians of Maine and New Brunswick. They were a powerful but mild people, dwelling in villages when first encountered by the French; but later losing their village habit to some extent, under the influence of the French, who induced them to revert to the hunting stage, in the

come from *Acadia*, to *New-England*, and go by the names of *Mabingans*, *Soccokis*, and *Openango*.<sup>1</sup> The first three (having fix'd Habitations) are intirely in the interests of the *French*; and I must say, that in time of War they gall the *English* Colonies with their Incurfions, so much, that we ought to take care to perpetuate a good understanding between them and us. The Baron of Saint *Casteins*, a Gentleman of *Oleron* in *Bearn*, having liv'd among the *Abenakis* after the Savage way, for above twenty years, is so much respected by the Savages, that they look upon him as their Tutelar God.<sup>2</sup> He was formerly an Officer of the *Carignan* Regiment in *Canada*; and upon the breaking of that Regiment, threw himself among the Savages, whose Language he had learn'd. He married among 'em after their fashion, and prefer'd the Forrests of

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interest of the all-absorbing fur-trade. The name Abenaki is said to mean "people of the East." See Vetromile, *Abnakis and their History* (New York, 1866); Maurault, *Histoire des Abenakis* (1866). They are now represented by the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Indians in Maine, and a few at the mission village in Canada. See p. 49, note 1, *ante*.

The Micmac were dwellers in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton — a large confederated tribe, of whom Membertou was the chief when Port Royal was founded (1605). They were frequently called Souriquois by the French, and not only were devoted to the latter's interests, but many were converted to Christianity.

The Canibas were an Abenaki tribe settled around Naroutsouat (Norridgewock), Maine. Their name was a variant of Kennebec. — ED.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 90, note 1, *ante*. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Jean Vincent St. Castin, of whom Lahontan gives so succinct an account, was born about 1636, and settled in the forests of Maine in 1667. After 1676 he was commandant of Pentagoët, the French fort upon the Penobscot. For many years he traded with the English, but aided his own people in King William's War (1689-97), leading his savage allies against the English settlements. Late in the century he inherited a considerable fortune in France, whither he returned about 1700. His son Anselm succeeded to his influence among the Penobscot Indians, to whom he was allied on his mother's side. See *Maine Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 42-72. — ED.

*Acadia* to the *Pyrenean* Mountains, that encompasses the place of his Nativity : For the first years of his abode with the Savages, he behav'd himself so, as to draw an inexpressible esteem from 'em. They made him their Great Chief or Leader, who is in a manner the Sovereign of the Nation ; and by degrees he has work'd himself into such a Fortune, which any Man but he would have made such use of, as to draw out of that Country above two or three hundred thousand Crowns, which he has now in his Pocket in good dry Gold. But all the use he makes of it, is, to buy up Goods for Presents to his Fellow-Savages, who upon their return from Hunting, present him with Beaver-Skins to a treble value. The Governours General of *Canada* keep in with him, and the Governours of *New-England* are afraid of him. He has several Daughters, who are, all of [224] 'em, married very handsomly to *Frenchmen*, and had good Dowries. He has never chang'd his Wife ; by which means he mean'd to give the Savages to understand, that God do's not love inconstant Folks. 'Tis said, that he endeavour'd to convert these poor People, but his endeavours prov'd successless ; so that 'tis in vain for the Jesuits to preach up the Truths of Christianity to 'em ; though after all, these good Fathers are not discourag'd, nay, they think that the administering of Baptism to a dying Child, is worth ten times the pains and uneasiness of living among that People.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lahontan here belittles the Jesuit missions, which nevertheless had a considerable success among the Acadian Indians. Druillettes began his visits to the Kennebec about 1646, and by 1680 a large number of converts had been removed to the mission



*Port-Royal*, the Capital or the only City of *Acadia*, is in effect no more than a little pauntry Town,<sup>1</sup> that is somewhat enlarg'd since the War broke out in 1689. by the accession of the Inhabitants that liv'd near *Boston*, the Metropolitan of *New-England*. A great many of these People retir'd to *Port-Royal*, upon the apprehension that the *English* would pillage 'em, and carry 'em into their Country. Mr. *de Meneval* surrendered this place to the *English*, as I said before; he could not maintain such a post with the handful of Men that he had, because the Palissadoes were low, and out of order. He made a Capitulation with the Commander of the Party that made the Attack; but the *English* Officer broke his word to him, and us'd him both ignominiously and harshly.<sup>2</sup> *Port-Royal* is seated in the Latitude of 44 Degrees, and 40 Minutes, upon the edge of a very fine Bafin,<sup>3</sup> which is a League

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colony. See p. 49, note 1, *ante*. For a fuller account of the Acadian mission, see *Jesuit Relations*, i, Introduction. — Ed.

<sup>1</sup> For a good summary of the history of Port Royal, the settlement at which was decided upon in 1604, but not actually undertaken until the following year, see Hannay, *History of Acadia* (St. John, N. B., 1879); Hannay, *Story of Acadia* (Kentville, N. S., 1904); *Acadiensis* (special number, June, 1904); Savary, *History of the County of Annapolis* (Toronto, 1897). The census of 1686 gave 885 persons in all Nova Scotia, of whom 592 were at Port Royal, exclusive of 30 soldiers. See Sulte, *Les Canadiens Français* (Montreal, 1882), vi, pp. 8, 9. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> The reference is here to the siege of Port Royal by Sir William Phips in May, 1690. Menneval, son of the Baron de Portneuf, had but recently succeeded Perrot as governor of Acadia. The fort was inefficiently garrisoned and provisioned, and was entirely unable to resist the demand for surrender made by the well-equipped English fleet. The charge that Phips broke the terms of capitulation, seems to be sustained. Menneval was carried captive to Boston, where after a short imprisonment he was sent to England, afterwards exchanged, and returned to Canada, where he was useful in affording information of New England conditions. — Ed.

<sup>3</sup> First called Port Royal Basin, but now Annapolis Basin. Situated on the northwest coast of Nova Scotia, and pouring its enormous tide into the Bay of Fundy

broad, and two Leagues long, having at the entry about sixteen or eighteen fathom Water on one side, and six or seven on the other; for you must know that the Island call'd *l'Isle aux Chevres* which stands in the middle, divides the Channel into two. There's excellent anchorage all over the Bafin; and at the bottom of it, there's a Cape or point of Land that parts two Rivers, at which the tide rises ten or [225] twelve Foot. These Rivers are bounded by pleasant Meads, which in Spring and Autumn are cover'd with all sorts of fresh Water-fowl. In fine, *Port-Royal* is only a handful of Houses two Story high, and has but few Inhabitants of any Note. It subsists upon the traffick of the Skins, which the Savages bring thither to truck for *European* Goods. In former times, the Farmer's Company had Magazines in this place, which were under the care of the Governours. I could

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through the narrow Digby Gut, this strikingly-beautiful fjord appealed strongly to the French explorers — De Monts, Champlain, and Poutrincourt — who discovered it about the twenty-fourth of June, 1604. Poutrincourt obtained from De Monts a grant of the region, and determined to settle there; but the ill-fated winter of 1604-05 was actually spent by the party on Island St. Croix, at the mouth of St. Croix River, where it empties into Passamaquoddy Bay. The next year, the remnant of the company settled on Poutrincourt's grant, on the shores of Annapolis Basin. This first settlement of the French in Canada was on the mainland, in Lower Granville, opposite Goat Island (the "Isle aux Chevres" of our author), about seven miles below and on the opposite shore to the present Annapolis Royal, at the head of the basin — whither the colony removed in later years. Annapolis Basin was too far removed from the fur trade of the interior, also was subject to English attacks, for which reasons Champlain wisely decided to found Quebec (1608) as the capital of New France.

Along the east shore of the basin is now a continuous and prosperous farming community, chiefly the descendants of early Scotch settlers and American Loyalists, with several small towns. Digby is a considerable summer resort, chiefly for New Englanders; Annapolis Royal (1000 inhabitants) is a quiet market town. Concerning the tercentenary celebration of the landfall of the early French, see p. 324, note 1, *ante*. — ED.

easily mention some of 'em, if I were not apprehensive that these Memoirs may be seen by others besides your self.

The Island of *Newfound-Land*, is three hundred Leagues in Circumference. It lies at the distance of six hundred and fifty Leagues from *France*, and forty or fifty Leagues from the Bank of the same name. The South side of the Island belongs to the *French*, who have several Settlements there for the fishing of Cod. The East side is inhabited by the *English*, who are possess'd of several considerable Ports, situated in certain Ports, Bays, and Havens, which they have taken care to fortifie. The West of the Island is waste, and was never yet possess'd. The Island is of a triangular Figure, and full of Mountains, and impracticable Forrests. It has some great Meadows, or rather Heaths, which are covered with a sort of Moss instead of Grass. The Soil of this Country is good for nothing, as being a mixture of Gravel, Sand and Stones; so that the Fishery was the only motive that induc'd the *French* and the *English* to settle there. It affords great store of Game, for Water-fowl, Partridges and Hairs; but as for the Stags, 'tis almost impossible to come at 'em, by reason that the Mountains are so high, and the Woods so thick.<sup>1</sup> In this

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<sup>1</sup> The area of Newfoundland, which in its extreme length from north to south is 350 miles and in its average breadth from east to west 130 miles, is 40,200 square miles. Its population in 1901 was 216,215, for the most part littoral; the interior being still a wilderness, chiefly forested, although there are several broad rocky plateaus which yield little beyond moss and low-growing shrubs. The lumbering industry is being rapidly developed, the lakes and rivers furnishing easy timber highways to mill and port; mining interests are also fast growing in importance—the present annual output of copper, pyrites, iron ore, and other products amounting to a million dollars; under recent governmental bounties, the area of cultivation has been

Island, as well as in that of Cape *Breton*, we find Porphyry of several colours; and care has been taken to send to *France* some pieces of it for a Pattern, which were [226] found to be very pretty, only they were hard to cut. I have seen some of 'em that were red streak'd with green, and seem'd to be extream fine; but the mischief is, it splits so when 'tis taken out of the Quarries, that it cannot be made use of, but by way of incrustation.

This Island of Cape *Breton* affords likewise black Marble, or a sort of *Brefche* with grey Veins, which is hard, and not

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extended to upwards of 100,000 acres, largely along the coast, by fishermen; the fisheries, however, are, as in Lahontan's day, still the chief industry, employing in all branches of that pursuit nearly 60,000 of the inhabitants—while American, French, and a few Portuguese vessels are also engaged in the catch. The total annual value of the cod-fish catch in this region is \$10,000,000, Newfoundland's share being \$600,000; to these, may be added herring, lobsters, seal, and whale—while the interior waters abound in salmon and trout, which attract tourists from Canada, England, and the United States. The principal manufacturing establishments are in St. Johns; but factories for canning lobsters, and making seal and cod-liver oil, and guano, are numerous along the coast. The island is for the most part a plateau, creased by numerous river gorges and lake basins, and capped by a few mountains of not more than 2000 feet above sea-level, with a deeply-indented, fjord-like coast—more rugged on the west, north, and east sides than on the south. The numerous fjords are valuable to fishermen as land-locked harbors, and the population, as in Norway, clings closely to the ragged fringe of shore. For a century and a half, French fishermen have controlled the west and north coasts, from Cape Ray to Notre Dame Bay; but a recent treaty between England and France (1904) has effectively disposed of this long-pending source of discontent on the part of the English residents, and England now dominates (or will, when the stipulation is formally confirmed by both parliaments) the entire island. Newfoundland is not a part of the Dominion of Canada, preferring to remain a separate colony of the British Empire. Reid's Transinsular Railroad (narrow gauge), built in 1893-98, now runs from Port-au-Basques to St. Johns, but thus far has had but slight effect in developing the island, for the cheaper water carriage is still quite generally preferred. Labrador is owned by Newfoundland, and many of the tourists who now flock to the island for fishing and hunting, take pleasure trips on Newfoundland steamers as far north as Nain.—ED.

easily polish'd.<sup>1</sup> This Stone is apt to split, for 'tis not equally hard, and it has knots in it. There are no settled Savages in the Island of *Newfound-Land*.<sup>2</sup> 'Tis true, the *Eskimaux* do sometimes cross over to it at the Streight of *Belle Isle* in great Sloops, with intent to surprize the Crew of the Fishermen upon the Coast call'd *Petit Nord*. Our Settlements are at *Placentia*, at the Island of *St. Peter*, and in the Bay of *Trepassez*.<sup>3</sup> From *Cape Race* to *Chapeau Rouge*, the Coast is very clean, but from *Chapeau Rouge* to *Cape Race*, the Rocks render it dangerous.<sup>4</sup> There are two considerable Inconveniences, that attend the landing upon this Island. In the first place, the Fogs are here so thick in the Summer, for twenty Leagues off into the Main, that the ablest and most expert Sailor dare not stand into the Land while they last: So that all Ships are oblig'd to lye bye for a clear day, in order to make the Land.

<sup>1</sup> The author probably means breccia, a conglomerate of angular fragments. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> The aborigines of Newfoundland were few in number, and occupied chiefly the northern portion. They were known to the early French as Beothics, and exhibited an ineradicable hatred of the whites. After an act of treachery on their part, in 1810, they were nearly all exterminated. — ED.

<sup>3</sup> For *Placentia*, see p. 275, note 1, *ante*. The little island of *St. Pierre* was one of the earliest visited by French fishers in the sixteenth century, and by 1670 became a permanent French settlement, with slight fortifications. After the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), all French inhabitants were expelled; but in 1763, the islands of *St. Pierre* and *Miquelon* were retroceded to France, as a refuge for fishermen; the sovereignty is still in her hands, these now being, after the Newfoundland French Shore treaty (1904), her only possessions in North America, save those in the West Indies.

*Trepassey Bay* is the first large indentation southwest of *Cape Race*. The permanent French settlement here was broken up in 1713. See Prowse, *History of Newfoundland* (London, 1895), p. 542. — ED.

<sup>4</sup> The first should be *Cape Ray*, not *Race*. *Chapeau Rouge* is the extremity of the great peninsula between *Fortune* and *Placentia Bays*. Eastward from this point, the coast is more wild and rocky than that to the west. — ED.

The second Inconveniency, which is yet greater, proceeds from the Currents which run to and again, without any perceivable variation, by which means the Ships are sometimes drove in upon the Coast, when they reckon upon ten Leagues offing. But, which is worst of all, the insensible motion of the rowling Waves, throw's 'em insensibly upon the Rocks, which they cannot possibly avoid, for want of ground to anchor upon. 'Twas by this means that the King's Ship the *Pretty* was lost in 1692, as well as a great many others upon several occasions.<sup>1</sup>

[227] Of all our Settlements in *North-America*, *Placentia* is the Post of the greatest Importance and Service to the King, in regard that 'tis a place of refuge to the Ships that are oblig'd to put into a Harbour, when they go or come from *Canada*, and even to those which come from *South-America*, when they want to take in fresh Water or Provisions, and have sprung their Mast, or been dammag'd in a Storm. This place is situated in the Latitude of 47 Degrees, and some Minutes, almost at the bottom of the Bay that goes by the same name. The Bay is ten or twelve Leagues broad, and twenty odd Leagues long. The Fort stands upon the side of a Neck or narrow Streight, which is sixty Paces over, and six Fathoms water deep. The Ships that enter into the Port, are oblig'd to graze, (so to speak) upon the angle of the Bastions. The Port or Harbour is a League long, and a

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<sup>1</sup> This was probably the ship "Joli," which under command of Monsieur Beaujeu conveyed La Salle's ill-fated colony to the Gulf of Mexico (1684). See Thwaites, *Hennepin's New Discovery* (Chicago, 1903), pp. 388-392, where in the original text of the reprint (London, 1698) it is misprinted "Toby." — Ed.

quarter of a League over : Before the Port there's a large, fine road, which is a League and a half wide ; but lies so bleak to the North-West, and West-North-West Winds, the strongest and most boisterous Winds that are, that neither Cables nor Anchors, nor large stout Ships can withstand their furious shocks ; tho' indeed these violent storms seldom happen but in the latter end of Autumn. The same year that the *Pretty* was lost, the King lost another of 69 Guns call'd *the Good*, in this Road ; and if the four or five other Ships that belong'd to the same Squadron, had not took the precaution of steering into the Port, they had certainly underwent the same fate. This Road then which is only expos'd to the North-West, and West-North-West Winds, has some hidden Rocks on the North side, besides those at *Pointe Verte*, where several of the Inhabitants are wont to fish. All these things you may see plainly upon the Plan that I sent you along with my 23<sup>d</sup> Letter.

[228] Commonly, there comes thirty or forty Ships from *France* to *Placentia* every year, and sometimes sixty. Some come with intent to fish, and others have no other design than to truck with the Inhabitants, who live in the Summer time on the other side of the Fort. The ground upon which their Houses stand, is call'd *La grand Grave*, for in effect, they have nothing but Gravel to spread their Cod-fish upon, in order to have 'em dry'd by the Sun after they are salted. The Inhabitants and the *French* Fishermen, send their Sloops every day two Leagues off the Port to pursue the Fishery ; and some-

times the Sloops return so over-loaded, that they are in a manner bury'd in the Water. You cannot imagine how deep they sink, and 'tis impossible you should believe it, unless you saw it. The Fishery commences in the beginning of *June*, and is at an end about the middle of *August*. In the Harbour they catch a little sort of a fish, which they put upon their Hooks as a bait for the Cod.

*Placentia* is in great want of Gravel, which occasions the thinness of the Inhabitants. If the Governours prefer'd the King's Service to Avarice, they might make it a considerable Post, and a great many would make gravel Walks at their own charge; but as long as the Governours prey upon the fortunes of private Men, under the fair pretence of the King's Service, which is always in their Mouths, I can't see that this Settlement will ever be enlarg'd or improv'd. Do's not the Governour disgrace his Prince, and sink the character of his Post, in turning Fisherman, Merchant, Vintner, and acting in the way of a thousand meaner and more Mechanical Trades? Is not this a piece of Tyranny? To force the Inhabitants to buy what Goods they want, out of such and such a Ship, and to sell their Cod to such other Ships as the Governour is interest'd in, and that as a principal Owner: To [229] appropriate to himself the Rigging and Tackle of the Ships that are cast away upon the Coast, to stop the Crew of Merchantmen for his own Fishery, to sell Habitations or Settlements, to stifle the bidding up for Effects sold by way of Auction that he may ingross them by his sole Authority, to change



the Provisions laid up in Magazines for his Majesty's Troops, to carry off the good Biskuit and put bad in the room of it, to make so much Beef and Bacon for the subsistence of the Garrison, to force the Inhabitants to fend their Servants and Carpenters to some work, in which his Majesty's Service is less concern'd than his own Pocket: These, I say, are things that I take to be plain infractions of the Orders issued forth by *Lewis* the XIV. These are abuses that must be redress'd, if we would have the King to be well serv'd: And yet there's nothing done in it. For my part, I am unacquainted with the reason of the delay; those that have a mind to know, had best ask the Deputies of Monsieur *de P \* \* \**. I am fully perswaded, that all these Pyracies do not come to the King's Ear, for he's too just to suffer 'em.

To conclude; *Placentia* bears neither Corn, nor Rie, nor Pease, for the Soil is good for nothing; not to mention, that if it were as good and as fertile as any in *Canada*, yet no body would give themselves the trouble to cultivate it; for one Man earns more in Cod-fishing in one Summer, than ten would do in the way of Agriculture. In the great Bay of *Placentia*, there are some little Harbours, (besides that of the Fort) which the *Biscay* Fishermen resort to. Such are the little and the great *Burin*, *St. Laurence*, *Martir*, *Chapeau Rouge*,<sup>1</sup> &c.

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<sup>1</sup> The inlets here mentioned are all upon the western coast of *Placentia Bay*, and still retain practically their old names. *Burin Inlet* has at its entrance an island of the same name. "*Martir*" is the present *Mortier Bay*, being thus named for two well-known cartographers of the seventeenth century, *Corneille* and *Pierre Mortier*. *Burin* and *St. Lawrence* were early seats of shipbuilding. — Ed.

[230] *A List of the Savage Nations of Canada.**Those in Acadia.*The *Abenakis*.The *Micmac*.The *Canibas*.The *Mabingans*.The *Openangos*.The *Soccokis*.The *Etechemins*.

These are all of 'em good Warriours;  
they are more active and less cruel than  
the *Iroquese*. Their Language differs a  
little from that of the *Algonkins*.<sup>1</sup>

*The Nations that lye upon the River of St. Laurence, from the Sea  
to Monreal.*

The *Papinachois*.The *Mountaneers*.The *Gaspesians*.

These speak the *Algonkin* Language.

The *Hurons of Loreto*, the *Iroquese* Tongue.

The *Abenakis of Scilleri*.The *Algonkins*.

The *Algonkin* Language.

The *Agnies* of the Fall call'd *Saut St. Louis*; they speak the  
*Iroquese* Language, and are good Warriours.

The *Iroquese* of the Mountain of *Monreal*; they speak the  
*Iroquese* Language, and are a brave People.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For these tribes see pp. 90, 327, 328, *ante*. The *Etechemins* — nomads, whom the French found it difficult to convert — occupied the region from the *Penobscot* east to beyond *St. John River*, and in 1677 numbered from four to five hundred. The remnants of one *Etechemin* tribe are the so-called *Quoddy Indians* of to-day. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> For the *Papinachois*, see p. 261, note 2, *ante*. They were one of the tribe of the *Montagnais* (*Mountaineers*), by which term the French designated the wander-

*Those upon the Lake of Hurons.*

The *Hurons*, the *Iroquese* Language.

The *Outaouas*.

The *Nockes*.

The *Missisagues*.

The *Attikamek*.

} The *Algonkin* Language.

The *Outebipoues*, alias *Sauteurs*, good Warriours.<sup>1</sup>

ing Algonquian bands north of the St. Lawrence, among whom they had missions.

As the name indicates, the Gaspesiens were the aborigines of Gaspé, extending from the territory of the Etechemins northeast to the St. Lawrence. In 1677 there were from four to five hundred of these savages, whom the Jesuits found gentle and tractable.

The other tribes mentioned in this division are the Indians of the mission colonies. For Lorette, see p. 48, note 1, *ante*; for Sillery, p. 49, note 1; for the mission of Sault St. Louis to the Agnies (Mohawks), p. 56, note 1; for that of La Montagne, p. 55, note 2. — ED.

<sup>1</sup> The Huron confederacy was one of the largest and most enlightened bodies of North American Indians. When first encountered by the French they numbered about 16,000, and had agricultural villages in the region between Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay — see p. 154, note 2, *ante*. An important Jesuit mission was founded in the Huron country (Huronion, in Jesuit annals), but was destroyed and the Hurons dispersed by Iroquois war-raids (1648-49) — see *Jesuit Relations*, i, pp. 21-27.

Ottawa (Outaouat) was the name applied by the early French to the Northwestern Algonquians. When first encountered, they dwelt chiefly upon Manitoulin Island, in Lake Huron, whither they had sought an asylum from the Iroquois — see p. 153, note 2, *ante*. Later, their chief habitat was about Mackinac. They were especially faithful to French interests, and Pontiac was an Ottawa chief. The remnants of this tribe were removed to Indian Territory.

For the Nockés and Missisagues, see p. 317, note 1, *ante*.

The Attikamek (Attikamègues) were a Montagnais tribe dwelling chiefly upon the upper St. Maurice River, and trading with the Western Indians. They were destroyed by the ravages of the Iroquois, and an epidemic of small-pox.

For the Sauteurs (men of the Sault), by which term the French designated the entire Chippewa (Ojibwa) nation, whether living at Sault Ste. Marie or elsewhere, see p. 149, note 1, *ante*. — ED.

[231] *Upon the Ilinefe Lake, and the adjacent Country.*

Some *Ilinefe* at *Cbegakou*.

The *Oumamis*, good Warriours.

The *Maskoutens*.

The *Kikapous*, good Warriours.

The *Outagamis*, good Warriours.

The *Malomimis*.

The *Pouteouatamis*.

The *Ojatinons*, good Warriours.

The *Sakis*.

They speak the *Algonkin* Language, and are a sprightly active sort of People.<sup>1</sup>

*In the Neighbourhood of the Lake of Frontenac.*

The *Tfonontouans*.

The *Goyoguans*.

The *Onnotagues*.

These speak a different Language from the *Algonkin*.

The *Onnoyoutes* and *Agnies*, at a small distance.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the Illinois (Ilinefe) and Miami (Oumamis), see p. 77, note 1, *ante*. The Ouatatonon (Ojatinons) were a Miami tribe, later settled in western Indiana, and known to the English as Weas.

For the Mascouten and Kickapoo, see p. 174, note 2; for the Outagami (Fox) and Sauk (Sakis), p. 175, note 2; for the Menominee (Malomimis) and Potawatomi (Pouteouatamis), p. 168, note 2. These dwelt for the most part in Wisconsin, which was more densely populated with aborigines than any other Northwestern state. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> These were the Iroquois, for whom see p. 58, note 1, *ante*. — ED.

*Near the River of the Outaouas.*

The <i>Tabitibi</i> .	} They speak the <i>Algonkin</i> Language, and all of 'em are very cowardly. <sup>1</sup>
The <i>Monzoni</i> .	
The <i>Machakandibi</i> .	
The <i>Nopemen d'Achirini</i> .	
The <i>Nepisirini</i> .	
The <i>Temiskamink</i> .	

*To the North of Mississipi, and upon the Confines of the Upper Lake, and Hudson's Bay.*

The <i>Nadouessis</i> .	} These speak <i>Algonkin</i> . <sup>2</sup>
The <i>Assimpouals</i> .	
The <i>Sonkaskitons</i> .	
The <i>Ouadbatons</i> .	
The <i>Atintons</i> .	
The <i>Cliftinos</i> brave Warriour's and active brisk Men.	
The <i>Ekimaux</i> .	

<sup>1</sup> The Abittibi (Tabitibi) were the Indians of the lake and river of that name, tributary of the Moose. In 1760 the French maintained a post upon Abittibi Lake. The Monsoni lived in the eastern part of Rupert Land, but wandered widely, some of that nation being present at Sault Ste. Marie when St. Luson took possession of the Northwest (1671).

For the identification of Machakandibi, see p. 315, note 1, *ante*.

The Achirigouans (Nopemen d'Achirini) and Nipissing (Nepisirini) were kindred tribes, living north of the lake named for the latter. Charlevoix says that they were the original Algonquians, and spoke the language in its purity. There are now about two hundred of the tribe on their reservation on Lake Nipissing.

The Temiscaming (Temiskamink) Indians took their name from that of the lake, which signified "deep." About two hundred still frequent the agency on Lake Temiscaming in northern Ontario. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Lahontan is mistaken in stating that these tribes spoke the Algonquian language

[232] *A List of the Animals of the South Countries of Canada.*

Wild Beeves.

Little Stags or Harts.

Roebucks of three different Species.

Wolves, such as we have in *Europe*.

Lynx's, such as we have in *Europe*.

Michibichi, a sort of bastard Tygre.

Ferrets        }  
Weefels.       } such as we have in *Europe*.

Ash-colour'd Squirrels.

Hares.        }  
Rabbets.      } such as we have in *Europe*.

Badgers, such as we have in *Europe*.

White Beavers, but very scarce.

Reddish Bears.

Musk Rats.

Reddish Foxes, as in *Europe*.

Crocodiles in the *Mississipi*.

*Ossa*, an Animal like a Hare, upon the *Mississipi*.

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— another evidence of his lack of knowledge of the Siouan country. Of all the tribes enumerated, the Cristinaux (Clistini, Cree) were the only members of that stock, although intimately associated with the Assinboin (Assimpouals) — see p. 309, note 1, *ante*.

With the exception of the Eskimo (Ekimaux), the other tribes are all Siouan (Dakotan) — see p. 175, note 3, *ante*. The Assinboin separated from the Yankton tribe of Dakota, moved north and west, and are still one of the strongest bands of the Northwest. The Chonkasketons (Sunkaskitons) were “people of the fortified village”; the Wahpetons (Ouadebatons), a branch of the Issati (Santee); the Tetons (Atintons) a fierce tribe of western Sioux, whose later habitat was the Upper Missouri River. See Thwaites (ed.), *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark Expedition* (New York, 1904), index; also *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 193, 194. — ED.

*A List of the Animals of the North Countries of Canada.*

Originals or Elks.

Caribous or wild Affes.

Black Foxes.

Silver colour'd Foxes.

A sort of wild Cats, call'd *Enfans du Diable*, or the Devil's Children.

Carcaious, an Animal not unlike a Badger.

Porcupines.

Fontereaux, an Amphibious sort of little Pole-Cats.

Martins.

Pole-Cats, such as we have in *Europe*.

Black Bears.

[233] White Bears.

Siffleurs, an Animal that makes a whizzing noise.

Flying Squirrels.

White Hares.

Beavers.

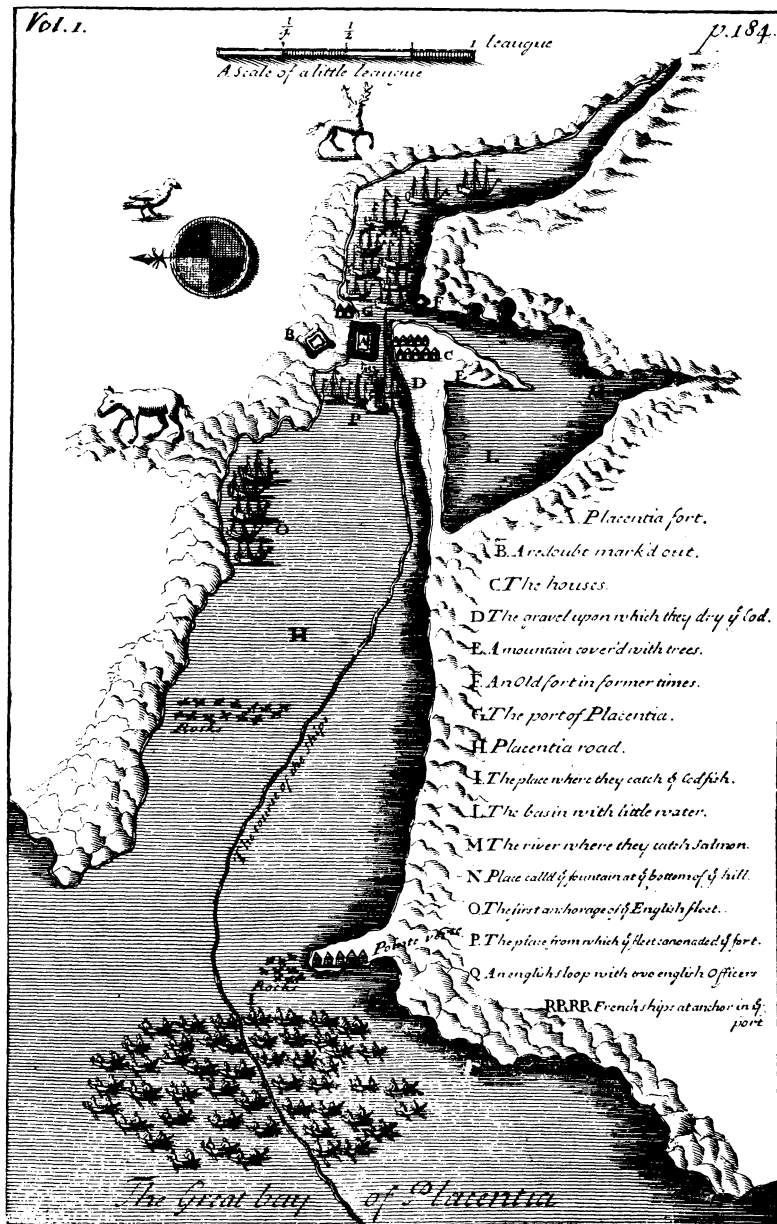
Otters.

Musk-Rats.

*Suisse* Squirrels, or a sort of Squirrels, whose Hair resembles a *Suisse's* Doublet.

Great Harts.

Sea-Wolves or Calves.







*A Description of such Animals or Beasts, as are not mentioned'd in the Letters.*

THE *Michibichi* is a sort of Tyger, only 'tis less than the common Tyger, and not so much speckl'd. As soon as it descries a Man, it runs away, and climbs up the first Tree it meets with. It attacks all brute Animals whatsoever, and conquers 'em with ease; and, which is very singular and peculiar to it above all other Animals, it runs in to the assistance of the Savages, when they pursue Bears and wild Bees; upon such occasions it makes as if 'twere afraid of no body, and falls out with fury upon the hunted Animal. The Savages call these Animals a sort of *Manitous*, that is, Spirits that love Men; and 'tis upon that score they esteem and respect 'em to such a degree, that they would choose rather to die, than to kill one of 'em.<sup>1</sup>

The *white Beavers* are much valued, upon the account of their being uncommon, though at the same time, their Hair is neither so large nor so fine as that of the common Beavers. As there are but few of these white Beavers, so those which are quite black are very scarce.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The animal here described as "Michibichi" is undoubtedly the puma or American tiger-cat (*Felis concolor*). Marquette describes one that he saw swimming a river, and one of the Jesuit missionaries gives this title to a manitou. Consult *Jesuit Relations*, lix, p. 109; lxvii, pp. 159, 161. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> The white beaver is an albino of the ordinary *Castor canadensis*, and is very

[234] The *Reddish Bears* are mischievous Creatures, for they fall fiercely upon the Huntsmen, whereas the black ones fly from 'em. The former sort are less, and more nimble than the latter.<sup>1</sup>

The *Crocodiles* of *Mississipi*, are exactly the same with those of the *Nile* and other places. I have seen that *Crocodile* that is at *Engolisma* in *Aquitaine*, and find that it has the same figure with these, only 'tis somewhat less. The most usual method that the Savages have for taking 'em alive, is to throw great Wreaths or Cords made of the barks of Trees with a running knot, upon their Neck, the middle of their Body, their Paws, &c. After they are thus seiz'd, they shut 'em up between ten or twelve Stakes, and there tie 'em after their Belly is turn'd upwards. While they lie in this posture, they flea 'em without touching their Head or their Tail, and give 'em a Coat of Fir-bark, to which they set fire, having cut the Ropes that keep'd 'em fast. Upon such occasions, these Animals make a fearful houlings and crying. To conclude, the Savages are frequently swallow'd up by these Creatures, whether in swimming over a River, or in sleeping upon its Banks. *Arioste* in the 68 Diapason of his 15th Song, gives this Description of a *Crocodile*.

*Vive sub lito è dentro a la Riviera,  
Ei Corpi Umani son le sue Vivande,  
De le Persone misere è incaute,  
Di Viandanti è d'infelice naute.*

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rare. The black beaver is less unusual, but only about one in ten thousand is found of this color. See Martin, *Castorologia*, p. 39. — ED.

<sup>1</sup> It is still a question among naturalists whether the cinnamon bear and the ordi-

That is, it lives both in the River, and upon its Banks; it squashes People with its murdering Tooth; it feeds upon the Bodies of poor Travellers, of unfortunate Passengers, and Sailours.<sup>1</sup>

The *Ojja*, are little Animals like Hares, and resemble 'em in every thing, excepting the Ears and Hind-feet. They run, and cannot climb. Their [235] Females have a Bag under their Belly, where their young ones enter upon a pursuit, in order to save themselves along with the Mother, who immediately betakes her self to flight.<sup>2</sup>

The Silver-colour'd *Foxes* are of the same shape with those of *Europe*, as well as the black ones. The black ones are very scarce, and whoever catches one, is sure to sell it for its weight in Gold. This species is met with only in the coldest Countries.

*The Animals  
or Beasts of the  
North Coun-  
tries.*

The *White Bears* are a monstrous Animal, and extraordinary long; their Head has a formidable Aspect, and their Hair is very large and thick; they are so fierce, that they'll come and attack a Sloop in the Sea, with seven or eight Men in it. 'Tis said, that they'll swim six or seven Leagues without being tyr'd. They live upon Fish and Shells upon the Sea-

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nary black bear (*Ursus americanus*) are two species or one. Huntsmen, however, usually discriminate, as Lahontan does. — ED.

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that Lahontan received his description of the crocodile (*Alligator mississippiensis*) from some members of La Salle's ill-fated colony, whose survivors he met at Mackinac. See p. 145, *ante*. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> The ordinary opossum of North America (*Didelphys virginiana*). — ED.

shoar, from whence they seldom straggle far. I never saw but one of 'em in my Life-time, which had certainly tore me to pieces, if I had not spy'd it at a distance, and so had time to run back for shelter to Fort *Louis* at *Placentia*.<sup>1</sup>

The *Flying Squirrels* are as big as a large Rat, and of a greyish white colour. They are as droufie, as those of the other Species are watchful. They are call'd *Flying Squirrels*, in regard that they fly from one Tree to another, by the means of a certain Skin which stretches it self out in the form of a Wing, when they make these little Flights.

The *White Hares* are only such in Winter, for as soon as the Spring comes on, they begin to turn grayish, and by degrees recover the same colour as our Hares have in *France*, which they hold till the end of Autumn.

The *Suisse Squirrels* are little Animals, resembling little Rats.<sup>2</sup> The Epithet of *Suisse* is bestow'd upon 'em, in regard that the Hair which covers their Body, [236] is streak'd with black and white, and resembles a *Suisse's* Doublet; and that these streaks make a ring on each Thigh, which bears a great deal of resemblance to a *Suisse's* Cap.

The large *Stags* are neither higher nor thicker, than those we have in *Europe*; but they are call'd large in proportion

<sup>1</sup> Lahontan must refer here to the polar bear (*Thalassartos maritimus*), which occasionally ventures as far as the southern coast of Newfoundland. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> The well-known flying squirrel (*Sciuropterus volucella*) is well described. Several of the North American hares change color as thus noted; probably Lahontan means *Lepus timidus*, var. *arcticus*. The Swiss squirrel is either a chipmunk (*Tamias striatus*) or a ground-squirrel (*Spermophile tridecemlineatus*). See *Jesuit Relations*, vi, p. 315. — Ed.

to two other Species of Harts that frequent the Southern Countries. The leffer fort affords the moſt delicious Meat.

The *Sea-Wolves*, which ſome call *Sea-Calves*, are as big as Maſtiffs. They are almoſt always in the Water, or at leaſt they never go far from the Sea ſide. Theſe Animals do not walk ſo much as they crawl, for when they raiſe themſelves out of the Water, they only creep upon the Sand or Clay. Their Head has the form of an Otter's Head, and their Feet, which have no Legs, reſemble thoſe of a Goofe. The Female kind bring forth their young ones upon the Rocks, or upon ſome little Iſlands, juſt by the Sea. The *Sea-Wolves* live upon Fiſh, and reſort to cold Countries. There's a prodigious number of 'em about the Mouth of the River of St. *Laurence*.<sup>1</sup>

As for the remaining Animals of *Canada*, I gave you an account of 'em in my Letters. I will not offer to ſhew you what methods the Savages take to catch or kill all theſe Animals, for ſuch an undertaking would be endleſs. This I can assure you of in the general, that they rarely go a Hunting to no purpoſe, and that they make no uſe of their Dogs, but in the Hunting of Elks, and ſometimes in Hunting of Beavers, as you ſhall ſee under the Head of the Diverſions of Hunting and Shooting among the Savages.

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<sup>1</sup> The ordinary ſeal (*Phoca vitulina*), often called ſea-calf, from the ſound it emits. — ED.

[237] *A List of the Fowl or Birds that frequent the South Countries of Canada.*

Vultures.

Huards, a River-fowl as big as a Goofe.

Swans.

Black Geefe.

Black Ducks.

Plungeons.

Coots.

Rayles.

Turkeys.

Red Partridges.

Pheasants.

Large Eagles.

Cranes.

Blackbirds.

Thrushes.

Wood-Pigeons.

Parrots.

Ravens.

Swallows.

} such as we have in *Europe*.

} such as we have in *Europe*.

} such as we have in *Europe*.

Several sorts of Birds of Prey that are not known in *Europe*.

Nightingales unknown in *Europe*, as well as several other little

Birds of different colours, particularly that call'd *Oiseau Mouche*, a very little Bird resembling a Fly; and great quantities of Pelicans.

*The Birds of the North Countries of Canada.*

Buftards. }  
 White Geefe. } fuch as we have in *Europe.*

Ducks of ten or twelve forts.

Teals.

Sea-Mews.

Grelans.

Sterlets.

[238] Sea-Parrots.

Moyacks.

Cormorants.

Heath-Cocks.

Snipes.

Plungeons.

Plovers.

Lapwings.

Herns.

Courbeious.

The Water-Fowl

call'd *Chevalier.*

fuch as we have in *Europe.*

*Beateurs de Faux*, a Fowl as big as a Quail.

White Partridges.

Large black Partridges.

Reddish Partridges.

Woodhens.

Turtledoves.



White Ortolans, a Bird no bigger than a Lark.

Sterlings. }  
 Ravens. } such as we have in *Europe*.

Vultures.

Spar-Hawks. }  
 Merlins. } like ours in *Europe*.  
 Swallows. }

*Becs De scie*, a fort of a Duck.

*A Table of the Insects that are found in Canada.*

Adders.

Asps.

Rattle-Snakes.

Lowing Frogs.

Gnats or Midges.

Gad-Bees.

Brulots or burning Handworms.

[239] *A Description of such Birds as are not accounted for in my Letters.*

THE *Huards* are a Freshwater-Fowl, as big as a Goose, and as dull and heavy as an Afs. They have black and white Feathers, a pointed Beak, and a very short Neck. They only duck or dive in the Summer, for they cannot use their Wings; and in that Season, the Savages take the Diversions of surrounding 'em with seven or eight Canows, dispers'd here and there, and so obliging 'em to dive down, when they offer to come up to take breath. The Savages have Entertain'd me several times with this agreeable Amusement, during the course of the Voyages I made with them.

*The Fowl or Birds of the Southern Countries.*

The *Red Partridges* are wild and little, and much different from the *Red Partridge* we have in *Europe*, as well as the Pheasant, whose Feathers being of a white colour with black specks, make a very agreeable diversity.<sup>1</sup>

The largest *Eagles* we find in this Country, are no bigger than Swans. Their Head and their Tail is white, and they have frequent Engagements with a sort of Vultures, that commonly have the better of it. In our Voyages we had frequent

<sup>1</sup> There are no true partridges in America; those so called are quail or grouse. This was probably *Ortyx virginianus*, our ordinary "bob white," which formerly was common in Canada. — ED.

occasions of seeing these Ingagements, which laſt as long as the Eagle can keep up the force of its Wings.

The *Parrots* are met with in the *Ilineſe* Country, and upon the River of *Miſſiſſipi*. They are very ſmall, and are the ſame with thoſe that we bring from *Brazil* and *Cayenne*.<sup>1</sup>

That ſort of *Nightingale* that I ſaw, is of a peculiar form; for 'tis of a leſſer ſize than the *European*, and of a blewish colour, and its notes are more diverſified; beſides that, it lodges in the holes of Trees, and four or five of 'em do commonly keep [240] together upon the thickeſt Trees, and with joynt Notes Warble o'er their Songs.

The *Flylike Bird* is no bigger than one's Thumb, and the colour of its Feathers is ſo changeable, that 'tis hard to faſten any one colour upon it. They appear ſometimes red, ſometimes of a Gold colour, at other times they are blew and red; and properly ſpeaking, 'tis only the brightneſs of the Sun that makes us unſenſible of the change of its gold and red colours. Its beak is as ſharp as a Needle. It flies from Flower to Flower, like a Bee, and by its fluttering fucks the flowery Sap. Sometimes about Noon it perches upon the little branches of Plum-trees or Cherry-trees. I have ſent ſome of 'em dead to *France*, it being impoſſible to keep 'em alive, and they were look'd upon as a great Curioſity.<sup>2</sup>

There are ten or twelve ſorts of Ducks in this Country.

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<sup>1</sup> All the early travellers ſpeak of paroquets in the Ohio valley. They were the Carolina parakeets (*Conurus carolinensis*), now reſtricted to Florida and ſome South-  
western States. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> The humming bird is peculiar to America; the ordinary variety in the Eaſtern States and Canada is the ruby-throat (*Trochilus colubris*). — ED.

Those call'd *Branchus*, are the smallest indeed, but they are much the prettiest. The Feathers upon their Neck looks so bright, by virtue of the variety and liveliness of their colours, that a Fur of that nature would be invaluable in *Muscovy* or *Turky*. They owe the name of *Branchus*, to their resting upon the branches of Trees. There's another Species of Ducks in this Country, that are as black as Jackdaws, only their Beak and the circle of their Eyes are red.

*The Birds  
of the  
Northern  
Countries.*

The *Seamews*, *Grelans* and *Sterlets*, are Fowls that fly incessantly over Seas, Lakes, and Rivers, in order to catch little Fish. Their Flesh is good for nothing, besides that, they have no substance of Body, though they seem to be as big as Pigeons.

The *Sea-Parrots* bear the name of *Parrots*, upon the account that their Beak is of the same form with that of the Land *Parrot*. They never quit the Sea or the Shoar; and are always flying upon the surface of the Water, in quest of little Fish. Their [241] colour is black, and their size is much the same with that of a Pullet. There are great numbers of 'em upon the bank of *Newfound-Land*, and near the Coast of the Island, which the Seamen catch with Hooks cover'd with a Cod's Roe, and hung over the Prow of the Ship.

The *Moyacks* are a sort of Fowl, as big as a Goose, having a short Neck, and a broad Foot; and which is very strange, their Eggs are half as big again as a Swan's, and yet they are all Yelk, and that so thick, that they must be diluted with Water, before they can be us'd in Pancakes.

The *White Partridges*, are as big as our *red Partridges*.

Their Feet are cover'd with such a thick down, that they resemble those of a young Rabbet. They are only seen in the Winter time, and some years they are scarce seen at all, though on the other hand, in other years they are so plentiful, that you may buy a dozen for Nine pence. This is the most stupid Animal in the World; it sits upon the Snow, and suffers it self to be knock'd on the head with a pole without offering to stir. I am of the opinion, that this unaccountable numbness is occasion'd by its long flight from *Greenland* to *Canada*. This conjecture is not altogether groundless, for 'tis observ'd, that they never come in flocks to *Canada*, but after the long continuance of a North or a North-East Wind.

The *Black Partridges* are truly very pretty. They are bigger than ours; and their beak together with the circle of the Eyes, and the Feet are red; their plumage being of a shining black colour. These Animals are very proud, and seem to have a sense of their beauty as they walk. They are but very uncommon, as well as the reddish *Partridges*, which resemble Quails in their bulk and briskness.

The *White Ortolans* are only met with in Winter; but I am of the opinion, that their Feathers are naturally [242] of a white colour, and that they retrieve their natural colour in the places they retire to, when they disappear in *Canada*. They are indifferent good to eat when they are fat, but that they seldom are. In the Winter great quantities of 'em are catch'd about the Barns, with Nets stretch'd out upon the Straw.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For the birds of Canada, see Macoun, *Catalogue of Canadian Birds* (Ottawa, 1900-03). — ED.

*A Description of the Insects of Canada.*

THE *Adders* of *Canada* do no harm at all. The *Asps* indeed are very dangerous, when the People bathe in the stagnating Water towards the South Countries. The *Rattle-Snake* or *Sounding Serpent* is so call'd, in regard that at the extremity of its Tail, it has a sort of a Case, containing certain bones which make such a noise when the Serpent creeps along, that 'tis heard thirty Paces off. These Serpents betake themselves to flight when they hear the sound of Mens Feet, and commonly sleep in the Sun either in green Fields, or open Woods. They never sting but when they are trod upon.<sup>1</sup>

The *Lowing Frogs* are so call'd with respect to their croaking, which sounds like the lowing of an Oxe. These *Frogs* are twice as large as those we have in *Europe*. The *Canada Gad-Bees* are a sort of Flies about twice as big as Bees; but of the same form with a common Fly. They sting only between Noon, and three a Clock in the Afternoon; but then they do it so violently, that they fetch Blood. However, 'tis only upon certain Rivers that they are met with.

The *Brulots* are a sort of Hand-worms, which cleave so hard to the Skin, that their pricking occasions the same sense,

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<sup>1</sup> Bain says (Alexander Henry, p. 168, note 2) that there is no true rattlesnake (*Crotalus horridus*) in Canada; the variety found there is the *Caudisona tigrumina*. — Ed.

as if 'twere a burning Coal, or a spark of Fire. These little Animals are unperceivable, though at the same time they are pretty numerous.

[243] *The Names of the Fish in the River of St. Laurence, from its Mouth to the Lakes of Canada.*

Balenots or little Whales.

A Fish almost as big as a Whale, call'd *Souffleur*.

White Porpoises.

Salmon, such as we have in *Europe*.

Eels.

Maycrel, as in *Europe*.

Herrings.

Gasperots, a small Fish like a Herring.

Bases.

Shad-fish.

Cod-fish.

Plaices.

Smelts.

Turbots.

Pikes.

The Gold-colour'd Fish.

Roaches.

Lampreys.

Merles or Sea-Tench.

Thornbacks.

Cungars.

Sea-Cows, a kind of Porpoises.

*The Shell-Fish.*

Little Lobsters.

Crab-fish.

Cockles.

Mufcles.

*The Fish that are found in the Lakes of Canada, and in the Rivers  
that fall into 'em.*

Sturgeons.

The Armed Fish.

[244] Trouts.

White-Fish.

A sort of Herrings.

Eels.

Mulletts

Carp.

Gull-Fish.

Gudgeons.

*The Fish found in the River of Mississipi.*

Pikes, such as we have in *Europe*.

Carps.

Tench.

Perches.

Dabs, and several others that are not known in *Europe*.



*A Description of the Fish that are not mention'd in the Letters.*

*Those between the Mouth of the River, and the Lakes.* **T**HE *Balenot* is a sort of a Whale, only 'tis less and more fleshy, and does not yield Oil in proportion to the Northern Whales. This Fish goes fifty or sixty Leagues up the River.

The *Souffleurs* are much of the same size, only they are shorter and blacker. When they mean to take breath after diving, they squirt out the Water through a hole behind their Head, after the same manner with the Whales. Commonly, they dog the Ships in the River of St. Laurence.

The *White Porpoises* are as big as Oxen. They always go along with the Current; and go up with the tide till they come at fresh Water, upon which they retire with the ebb Water. They are a ghastly sort of Animals, and are frequently taken before *Quebec*.

[245] The *Gasperots* are a small Fish, not unlike a Herring. In the Summer time they make in to the shoar in such shoals, that the Cod-fishers take as many of 'em as serves for Bait for that Fishery. These Fishermen do likewise make use of Herrings, when the season obliges them to put into the shoar to Spawn. In a word, all the Fish that are made use of for a Bait

to make the Codfish bite at the Hook, are call'd *Boete* in the Fishermens Dialect.

The *Gold-colour'd Fish* are nice Food. They are about fifteen Inches long; their Scales are yellow, and they are valued very high.

The *Sea-Cows*, which are a sort of Porpoises, are bigger than the *Normandy Beeves*. They have a sort of Paws cut like a Goose's Foot, their Head resembles that of an Otter; and their Teeth, which are two Inches thick, and nine Inches long, are reckon'd the finest Ivory that is. 'Tis said that they range wide of the shoar, towards Sandy and Marshy places.

The *Lobsters* of this River seem to be exactly the same with those we have in *Europe*.

The *Cockles* are of a piece, with those we have upon the coast of *France*, excepting that they are larger, and have a more agreeable taste, though their Flesh seems to partake more of crudity and indigestion.

The *Muscles* of this River are prodigious large, and taste very well; but 'tis next to an impossibility to eat 'em without breaking one's Teeth, by reason of their being stuff'd with *Pearl*; I call it *Pearl*, tho' the name of Gravel or Sand may be more proper, with respect to its value, for I brought to *Paris* fifty or sixty of the largest and finest, which were rated only at a penny a piece; notwithstanding that we had broke above two thousand Muscles to make up that number.

[246] The *Lake-Sturgeons* are commonly five or six Foot

long: But I once saw one of ten Foot, and another of twelve in length. The Savages catch 'em with Nets in the Winter, and Grapples in the Summer. 'Tis said, they have a certain sort of Flesh about their Head, that tastes like Beef, Mutton, and Veal; but I have eat of it several times, and never could observe any such thing, which makes me look upon the allegation as chimerical.

The *Fish in Armour*, is about three Foot and a half long. 'Tis defended by such strong and hard Scales, that 'tis impossible for any other Fish to hurt it. Its Enemies are Trouts and Roaches, but 'tis admirably well provided for the repulsing of their Attacks, by vertue of its pointed Snout, which is a Foot long, and as hard as its Skin. It eats very well, and its Flesh or Substance is as firm as 'tis white.

The *Lake Dabs* or *Sandings* are not above a Foot long, but they are very thick all over. They are call'd *Barbues* in *French*, with allusion to a certain sort of Beards that hang down from the side of their Muzzle, and are as big as ears of Corn. Those which we find in the River of *Mississipi*, are of a monstrous size. Both the one and the other are catch'd with a Hook, as well as with a Net; and make very good Victuals.

The *Mississipi Carps* are likewise of an extraordinary size, and admirably well tasted. They are of the same form with ours. In the Autumn they put in towards the shoar, and are easily catch'd with a Net.

The largest *Trouts* we meet with in the Lakes, are five Foot

and a half long, and of one Foot Diameter. Their flesh is red, and they are catch'd with great Hooks made fast to pieces of Wire.

The Fish catch'd in the Lakes, are better than those we take at Sea, or in the Rivers, particularly [247] the white Fish, which for goodness and nice Eating, are far beyond all the other Species. The Savages that live upon the sides of those little fresh-water Seas, prefer the Broth of Fish, to Meat-broth, when they are indispos'd. This choice they ground upon experience; whereas the *French* on the other hand find that Venison Broth is at once more substantial and restorative.

The Rivers of *Canada* are replenish'd with an infinity of other fishes, that are not known in *Europe*. The Fish catch'd in the North-Country Rivers, are different from those of the South; and those taken in the *Long River*, which disimbogues into the River of *Mississipi*, favour so rank of Mud and Clay, that 'tis impossible to eat of 'em; abating for a sort of little Trouts that the Savages take in the adjacent Lakes, which make a tolerable Mefs.

The Rivers of the *Otentats*, and the *Missouris*, produce such odd shap'd fishes, that 'tis impossible to describe 'em without they were drawn upon Paper. These Fishes taste but sordidly, and yet the Savages love it mightily, which I take to proceed from their knowing no better.

*The Trees and Fruits of the South Countries of Canada.*

Beech-Trees. }  
Red Oak. } such as we have in *Europe*.

Bitter Cherry-trees.

Maple-trees.

Ash-trees.

Elms. }  
Linden-trees. } such as we have in *Europe*.

Nut-trees of two sorts.

Chestnut-trees.

Apple-trees.

[248] Pear-trees.

Plum-trees.

Cherry-trees.

Hazel-trees, such as we have in *Europe*

Vines.

A sort of Citrons.

Water Melons.

Sweet Citruls.

Wild Goofeberries.

Pine-apples.

Tobacco, such as our *Spanish* Tobacco.

*The Trees and Fruits of the North Countries of Canada.*

White Oak.

Red Oak.

Birch-trees.

Bitter Cherry-trees.

Mapple-trees.

Pine-trees.

Epinettes.

Fir-trees of three sorts.

Peruffes.

Cedar-trees.

Aspin-trees.

White Wood.

Alder-trees.

Maiden Hair.

Strawberries.

Rasberries.

Gooseberries.

Bluets.

*A Description of the above-mention'd Trees and Fruits.*

YOU must remark, that all the Wood of *Canada* is good of its kind. The Trees that stand expos'd to the North-Winds are apt [249] to be influenc'd by the Frost, as it appears from the chops and chinks that it occasions.

The *Bitter Cherry-tree*, has a hard and whitish Wood, with a grey Bark. Some of 'em are as tall as the loftyest Oaks, and as big as a Hoghead. This Tree grows streight; it has an oval Leaf, and is made use of in Beams, Rafters, and other Carpenter's work.

The *Mapple-tree* is much of the same height and bulk; but it has a brown Bark, and the Wood is reddish. It bears no resemblance to that sort we have in *Europe*. It yields a Sap, which has a much pleasanter taste than the best Limonade or Cherry-water, and makes the wholesomest drink in the World. This Liquor is drawn by cutting the Tree two Inches deep in the Wood, the cut being run sloping to the length of ten or twelve Inches. At the lower end of this gash, a Knife is thrust into the Tree slopingly, so that the water running along the Cut or Gash, as through a Gutter, and falling upon the Knife that lies across the Channel, runs out upon the Knife, which has Vessels plac'd underneath to receive it. Some Trees will yield five or six Bottles of this water a Day; and some Inhabi-

tants of *Canada*, might draw twenty Hogheads of it in one day, if they would thus cut and notch all the *Mapples* of their respective Plantations. The gasb do's no harm to the Tree. Of this Sap they make Sugar and Syrup, which is so valuable, that there can't be a better remedy for fortifying the Stomach. 'Tis but few of the Inhabitants that have the patience to make *Mapple-Water*, for as common and usual things are always flighted, so there's scarce any body but Children that give themselves the trouble of gashing these Trees. To conclude, the North-Country *Mapples* have more Sap than those of the South Countries; but at the same time the Sap is not so sweet.

[250] There are two sorts of Nut-trees in this Country. The one bears round, and the other long, Nuts; but neither of 'em is good for any thing, no more than the wild Chesnuts that grow in the *Ilinefe* Country.

The Apples that grow upon some of their Apple-trees, eat well when they are Codled, but they are good for nothing when they're Raw. Upon the *Mississipi* indeed, there's a sort of Apples that have a taste not unlike that of some *European* Apples. The Pears are good, but very scarce.

The Cherries are small, and extream red; and though their taste is not good, yet the Roe-bucks like 'em so well, that in the Summer time they scarce ever miss to lye under the Cherry-trees all Night long, especially if it blows hard.

This Country affords three sorts of excellent Plums, which bear no resemblance to ours either in figure or colour. Some are long and small, some are round and thick, and some very little.



The Vines twine round the Trees to the very top ; and the Branches of those Trees are so cover'd with Grapes, that one would take the Grape to be the fruit of the Tree. In some Countries of North-America, the Grape is little, but very well tasted ; but towards the *Mississipi*, 'tis long and thick, and so is the cluster. There has been some Wine press'd from the Grapes of that Country, which after long standing became as sweet as Canary, and as black as Ink.

The Citrons of North-America are so call'd, only because their form resembles that of our Citron. Instead of a Rind, they have only a single Skin. They grow upon a Plant that rises three Foot high, and do's not bear above three or four at a time. This Fruit is as wholesome as its Root is dangerous ; for the one is very Healthy, and the juice of the other is a mortal subtle Poison.<sup>1</sup> While I stay'd at Fort *Frontenac*, [251] in the year 1684, I saw an *Iroquese* Woman take down this fatal Potion, with a design to follow her deceas'd Husband ; after she had took leave of her Friends, and sung the Death Song, with the Formalities that are usual among these blind Wretches. The Poison quickly work'd the desired effect ; for this Widdow, who in *Europe* would be justly look'd upon as a miracle of Constancy and Fidelity, had no sooner swallowed the murdering Juice, than she fell into two or three shivering Fits, and so expir'd.

The *Water-Melons*, call'd by the *Spaniards* *Algiers Melons*,

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<sup>1</sup> Doubtless Lahontan here refers to the may apple or mandrake (*Podophyllum peltatum*), from whose root a poison may be extracted. The Jesuit missionaries called this fruit citron. — Ed.

are round and thick like a Ball; some are red, and some white, and the kernels, which are very large, are sometimes black, sometimes red. As for their taste, 'tis exactly the same with that of the *Spanish* or *Portuguese Melons*.

The *Citruls* of this Country are sweet, and of a different nature from those of *Europe*; and I'm inform'd, that the *American Citruls* will not grow in *Europe*. They are as big as our *Melons*; and their Pulp is as yellow as Saffron. Commonly they are bak'd in Ovens, but the better way is to roast 'em under the Embers, as the Savages do. Their taste is much the same with that of the Marmelade of Apples, only they are sweeter. One may eat as much of 'em as he pleases, without fearing any disorder from 'em.<sup>1</sup>

The wild Gooseberries are good for nothing, but for Confits: But that sort of Confits are seldom made, for Sugar is too dear in *Canada*, to be employ'd for such uses.

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<sup>1</sup> For the citrul (citrouille), see p. 148, note 2, *ante*. — ED.

[252] *A Description of the Trees and Fruits of the Northern Countries.*

THE *Canada* Birch-trees are much different from those we have in some Provinces of *France*; both for bulk and quality. The Savages make Canows of their Bark, some of which is red, and some white; but both are equally proper for that use. That which has the fewest Veins and Chops, is the best; but the red bark makes the finest show. There are some little Baskets made of the young Birches, that are much esteem'd in *France*; and Books may be made of 'em, the Leaves of which will be as fine as Paper. This I can speak by experience, for I have frequently made use of 'em for want of Paper, in writing the Journal of my Voyages. Nay, I remember I have seen in a certain Library in *France*, a Manuscript of the Gospel of St. *Matthew*, written in *Greek* upon this sort of Bark; and, which is yet more surprizing, I was then told, that it had been written above a thousand years; and at the same time I dare swear, that 'twas the Genuine Birch-bark of *New-France*, which in all appearance was not then discovered.

The *Pine-trees* are very tall, straight, and thick; and are made use of for Masts, which the King's Pinks do oftentimes transport to *France*. 'Tis said, that some of these Trees are big enough, to serve for a Mast to a First-rate Ship.

The *Epinette* is a sort of a Pine, with a sharper and thicker Leaf. 'Tis made use of in Carpenters work, and the matter which drains from it, smells as sweet as Incense.<sup>1</sup>

There are three sorts of *Firs* in this Country, which are saw'd into Dales [deals] by certain Mills, that the *Quebec* Merchants have caus'd to be built in some places.

[253] The *Peruffe* is the properest of all green Woods for the building of Ships, upon the consideration that 'tis compacter, and has closer Pores, so that it do's not soak or drink in the moisture as much as others.

Here are two sorts of *Cedar*, namely, the white and the red; but one must view 'em narrowly before he can distinguish 'em, by reason that both of 'em have much the same sort of Bark. These Trees are low, bushy, and full of Branches and little Leaves, resembling the tag of a Lace. The Wood of this Tree, is almost as light as Cork; and the Savages make use of it in the Wreaths and Ribs of their Canows. The red sort looks admirably well, and may be made into Household-Goods, which will retain an agreeable smell for ever.

The *Asps* are little Shrubs, which grow upon the sides of Pools or Rivers; and in a word, in moist and marshy Countries. This Wood is the common food of the Beavers, who, in imitation of the Ants, take care to make a collection of it round their Hutts in the Autumn, which serves 'em for sustenance when the Ice imprisons 'em in Winter.

The *White Wood* is a midling sort of Tree, that's neither too

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<sup>1</sup> The "epinette" has been identified as the hemlock spruce (*Abies canadensis*). — ED.

big nor too little. 'Tis almost as light as Cedar, and as easily work'd upon. The Inhabitants of *Canada* make little Canows of it, for fishing and crossing the Rivers.

*Maidenbair* is as common in the Forrefts of *Canada*, as Fern is in those of *France*, and is esteem'd beyond that of other Countries; insomuch, that the Inhabitants of *Quebec* prepare great quantities of its Syrup, which they send to *Paris*, *Nants*, *Rouan*, and several other Cities in *France*.

*Strawberries* and *Rasberries*, are wonderfully plentiful in *Canada*, and taste extream well. We meet likewise with some white Gooseberries in this Country; but they serve for no use, unless it be to make a sort of Vinegar of 'em, that is very strong.

The *Bluets* are certain little Berries, not unlike small Cherries, only they are black, and perfectly round. The Plant upon which they grow, is as big as a Raspberry-bush. These Berries serve for several uses, after they are dry'd in the Sun, or in an Oven; for then they make Confits of 'em, or put 'em into Pyes, or infuse 'em in Brandy. The North-Country Savages make a Crop of 'em in the Summer, which affords 'em very feasonable relief, especially when their hunting comes short.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Bluet" is the term still used by Canadians for the blueberry (*Vaccinium canadense*). — ED.

*A General View of the Commerce of Canada.*

**I** COME now to give a brief and general account of the Commerce of *Canada*, which I have already touch'd upon in my Letters. The *Normans* were the first that set up this trade, and usually they set out from *Havre de Grace*, or *Dieppe*; but the *Rochellers* have now work'd 'em out of it, for as much as the *Rochel* Ships furnish the Inhabitants of that Continent with the necessary Commodities. There are likewise some Ships sent to *Canada* from *Bordeaux* and *Bayonne*, with Wines, Brandy, Tobacco, and Iron.

The Ships bound from *France* to that Country, pay no Custom for their Cargo, whether in clearing in *France*, or in their entries at *Quebec*; abating for the *Brazil* Tobacco which pays five *Sols* a pound; that is to say, a Roll of 400 pound weight, pays a hundred *Livres* by way of Entry, to the Office of the Farmers-General.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the Ships go laden to *Canada*, and return light or empty. Some indeed bring home Pease when they are good cheap in the Colony, and others take in a Cargo of Planks

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<sup>1</sup> In addition to large quantities of tobacco raised in New France, much was imported, this being preferred by both Indians and habitants. As early as 1676 an impost of ten per cent advalorem was laid upon Brazil tobacco; five sols being equivalent to about nineteen cents in the American money of to-day, the retail price of imported tobacco must, at that rate, have reached nearly two dollars per pound. — ED.

and Boards: Others again go to the Island of Cape *Breton*, and there [255] take in a Cargoe of Pit-Coal, which they carry to the Islands of *Martinico* or *Guardaloupa*, where the refining of Sugars occasions a great consumption of Coals. But those Ships which either belong, or are recommended to the topping Merchants of the Colony, are fraughted with Skins, which turns to a great account. I have seen some Ships unload at *Quebec*, and then steer to *Placentia*, to take in Cod-fish which they purchas'd with ready Mony; but generally speaking, there's more lost than got by that way of trading. The Merchant that has carried on the greatest trade in *Canada*, is the *Sieur Samuel Bernon* of *Rochel*, who has great Ware-Houses at *Quebec*, from which the Inhabitants of the other Towns are supplied with such Commodities as they want.<sup>1</sup> 'Tis true, there are some Merchants at *Quebec*, who are indifferent rich, and fit out Ships upon their own bottom, that ply to and again between *France* and *Canada*; and these Merchants have their Correspondents at *Rochel*, who send out and take in every year the Cargoes of their Ships.

There's no difference between the Pyrates that scowr the Seas, and the *Canada* Merchants; unless it be this, that the former sometimes enrich 'emselfes all of a sudden by a good Prize; and that the latter can't make their fortune without trading for five or six years, and that without running the hazard of their Lives. I have known twenty little Pedlars that had not above a thousand Crowns stock when I arriv'd at

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<sup>1</sup> Bernon was a Huguenot, whom the bishop required the governor to order out of his domain. See Parkman, *Old Regime*, pp. 291, 292. — ED.

*Quebec*, in the year 1683; and when I left that place, had got to the tune of twelve thousand Crowns. 'Tis an unquestion'd truth, that they get fifty *per Cent* upon all the Goods they deal in, whether they buy 'em up upon the arrival of the Ships at *Quebec*, or have 'em from *France* by way of Commiffion; but over and above that, there are fome little gaudy Trinkets, fuch as Ribbands, Laces, Embroideries, Tobacco-Boxes, Watches, [256] and an infinity of other baubles of Iron Ware, upon which they get a hundred and fifty *per Cent*, all Cofts clear.

In this Country a Hogfhead of *Bourdeaux* Wine, which contains 250 Bottles, is worth about forty *French* Livres, in time of Peace, and fixty in time of War. A Hogfhead of *Nants* or *Bayonne* Brandy, will fetch 80 or a 100 Livres. In the Taverns a Bottle of Wine cofts fix *French* Sous, and a Bottle of Brandy is fold for twenty. As for dry Commodities, their price rifes and falls upon occafion. *Brazil* Tobacco is worth 40 Sous a pound by way of Retail, and 35 by Wholesale. Sugar will fetch at leaft 20 Sous a pound, and fometimes 25 or 30.

The earlieft Ships that come from *France*, fet out commonly in the latter end of *April*, or the beginning of *May*; but to my mind, they might shorten their Voyage by one half, if they put to Sea about the middle of *March*, and then fweep'd along the North Coaft of the *Azores* Iflands; for in thofe Seas the South and South-Eaft Winds commonly blow from the beginning of *April*, to the end of *May*. I have mention'd this feveral times to the moft expert Pilots; but they



still put me off with the plea, that they dare not steer that Course for fear of some Rocks: And yet these Rocks are not to be met with but in their Charts. I have read some Descriptions of the Ports, Roads, and Coasts of these Islands, and of the adjacent Seas, done by the *Portugueze*, which make no mention of the Shelves that are chalk'd down in all our Charts: On the contrary, they affirm that the Coast of these Islands is altogether clear, and that for twenty Leagues off into the Main, these imaginary Rocks were never met with.

As soon as the *French* Ships arrive at *Quebec*, the Merchants of that City who have their Factours in the other Towns, load their Barques with Goods in [257] order to transport 'em to these other Towns. Such Merchants as act for themselves at *Trois Rivières*, or *Monreal*, they come down in Person to *Quebec* to Market for themselves, and then put their Effects on board of Barques, to be convey'd home. If they pay for their Goods in Skins, they buy cheaper than if they made their payments in Money or Letters of Exchange; by reason that the Seller gets considerably by the Skins when he returns to *France*. Now, you must take notice, that all these Skins are bought up from the Inhabitants, or from the Savages, upon which the Merchants are considerable Gainers. To give you an instance of this matter. A Person that lives in the Neighbourhood of *Quebec*, carries a dozen of Martins Skins, five or six Foxes Skins, and as many Skins of wild Cats, to a Merchants House, in order to sell 'em for Woollen Cloth, Linnen, Arms, Ammunition, &c. In the truck of these Skins, the Merchant draws a double profit, one upon the

score of his paying no more for the Skins, than one half of what he afterwards sells 'em for in the lump to the Factours for the *Rochel* Ships; and the other by the exorbitant rate he puts upon the Goods that the poor Planter takes in exchange for his Skins. If this be duly weigh'd, we will not think it strange that these Merchants have a more beneficial Trade, than a great many other Tradesmen in the World. In my seventh and eighth Letter, I related the particulars of the Commerce of this Country, especially that which the Inhabitants carry on with the Savages, who supply 'em with the Skins of Beavers, and other Animals. So that now it remains only to give you an Inventory of the Goods that are proper for the Savages, and of the Skins which they give in exchange, together with their neat [net] Prices.

[258] Short and light Fufees.

Powder.

Ball and cut Lead, or Small-shot.

Axes both great and small.

Knives with their Sheaths.

Sword-blades to make Darts of.

Kettles of all fizes.

Shoomakers Awls.

Fish-hooks, of all fizes.

Flint Stones.

Caps of blew Serge.

Shirts made of the common *Brittany* Linnen.

Woolfted Stockins, fhort and coarfe.

*Brazil* Tobacco.

Coarse white Thread for Nets.

Sewing Thread of several colours.

Pack-thread.

Vermillion.

Needles, both large and small.

*Venice* Beads.

Some Iron Heads for Arrows, but few of 'em.

A small quantity of Soap.

A few Sabres or Cutlasses.

Brandy goes off incomparably well.

*The Names of the Skins given in exchange, with their Rates.*

THE Skins of Winter Beavers, *alias Muscovy Beavers*, are worth *per pound* in the Farmer Generals Warehouse. — — — — 4 *Livres.* 10 *Sous.*

The Skins of fat Beavers, the Hair of which falls off, while the Savages make use of 'em, *per pound*,<sup>1</sup> 5 *L. o S.*

Of Beavers taken in Autumn, *per pound* — — 3 10

[259] Of dry or common Beavers, *per pound* — 3 0

Of Summer Beavers, *per pound.* — — — 3 0

The Skin of a white Beaver is not to be valued, no more than that of a Fox that's quite black.

The Skins of Silver-colour'd Foxes a piece. — 4 0

Of common Foxes, in good order, — — — 2 0

Of the common Martins. — — — — 1 0

Of the prettyest fort of Martins. — — — — 4 0

Of red and smooth Otters. — — — — 2 0

Of the Winter and brown Otters. — — — — 4 10

or more.

<sup>1</sup> The skins of beavers most valued by the French were those known as *castor gras d'hiver* (fat winter beaver); that is, skins killed in the winter, then made by the savages into robes, and worn long enough to be thoroughly greased by contact with their bodies. See Perrot, *Mémoire sur les Mœurs, Coustumes et Religion des Sauvages de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1864), p. 317. — Ed.

					<i>Livres.</i>	<i>Sous.</i>
Of the finest black Bears.	—	—	—	—	7	0
The Skins of Elks before they're drefs'd, are worth						
<i>per pound</i> about.	—	—	—	—	0	12
The Skins of Stags are worth <i>per pound</i> about	—	—	—	—	0	8
The wild Cats or <i>Enfans de Diable</i> , a piece	—	—	—	—	1	15
Sea Wolves — a piece.	—	—	—	—	1	15
or more.						
Pole-Cats, and Weafels	—	—	—	—	0	10
Musk Rats.	—	—	—	—	0	6
Their Testicles.	—	—	—	—	0	5
Wolves.	—	—	—	—	2	10
The white Elk-skins, <i>i. e.</i> those drefs'd by the Sava-						
ges a piece	—	—	—	—	8	or m.
A drefs'd Harts Skin is worth	—	—	—	—	5	or m.
A Caribous	—	—	—	—	6	
A Roe-buck's	—	—	—	—	3	

To conclude, you must take notice that these Skins are upon some particular occasions dearer than I rate 'em, but the difference is but very small, whether under or over.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For comparison with this interesting table of prices, see that given for 1713 in Martin, *Castorologia*, pp. 110, 111; those for about 1750, in *Jesuit Relations*, lxiv, p. 127; and those at the beginning of the English regime, in Henry, *Travels*, pp. 55, 56. — ED.

[260] *An Account of the Government of Canada in General.*

IN *Canada* the Politick, Civil, Ecclesiastical and Military Government, are all in a manner one thing, in regard, that the wisest Governours have subjected their Authority to that of the *Ecclesiasticks*; and such Governours as would not imbarque in that interest, have found their Post so uneasy, that they have been recall'd with disgrace. I could instance in several, who for not adhering to the Sentiments of the Bishop and the Jesuits, and for refusing to lodge their Power in the hands of these infallible Gentlemen, have been turn'd out, and treated at Court like hot-headed Incendiaries. Mr. *de Frontenac* was one of this number, who made such an unhappy exit; for he fell out with Mr. *Duchesneau*, Intendant of that Country, who finding himself protected by the Clergy, industriously insulted that illustrious General; and the General was forc'd to give way, under the weight of an Ecclesiastical League, by reason of the Springs they set at work against him, in opposition to all the principles of Honour and Conscience.<sup>1</sup>

The Governour General that means to neglect no opportunity of advancing or enriching themselves, do commonly

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<sup>1</sup> Lahontan, as a partisan of Frontenac, presents his side of the disagreements with Duchesneau. For an account of their petty quarrels, which led to the recall (1682) of both governor and intendant, see Parkman, *Frontenac*, pp. 44-71. — ED.

hear two Masses a Day, and are oblig'd to confels once in four and twenty hours. He has always Clergy-men hanging about him where-ever he goes, and indeed properly speaking, they are his Counsellours. When a Governour is thus back'd by the Clergy; the Intendants, the Under-Governours, and the Sovereign Council, dare's not censure his Conduct, let it be never so faulty; for the protection of the Ecclesiasticks, shelters him from all the charges that can be laid against him.

The Governour General of *Quebec*, has twenty thousand Crowns a year, including the pay of his [261] Company of Guards, and the particular Government of the Fort. Over and above this Income, the Farmers of the Beaver-Skins make him a Present of a thousand Crowns a year; his Wines and all his other Provisions imported from *France* pay no Freight; not to mention that by certain ways and means he sucks as much Money out of the Country, as all the above mention'd Articles amount to. The Intendant has eighteen thousand Livres a year; but the Lord knows what he makes otherwise: I have no mind to touch there, for fear of being rank'd among those Detractors, who speak the truth too sincerely.<sup>1</sup> The Bishops Incomes are so small, that if the King were not graciously pleas'd to add to his Bishoprick some other Benefices in *France*, that Reverend Prelate would be reduc'd to as short

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<sup>1</sup> The office of intendant was established in New France when the King took over the colony from the hands of the commercial company (1663). It was analagous to the intendency in France, and created substantially a second head to the colony, causing much friction with the governor general. The duties of the intendant were numerous, and the powers vague and far-reaching; he was especially charged with the administration of finance and justice. For a list of both governors and intendants in New France, see *Jesuit Relations*, lxxii, pp. 116-118. — ED.

Commons, as a hundred of his Character are in the Kingdom of *Naples*.<sup>1</sup> The Major of *Quebec* has six hundred Crowns a year, the Governour of *Trois Rivières* has a thousand; and the Governour of *Monreal* is allow'd two thousand.<sup>2</sup> A Captain has a hundred and twenty Livres a Month, a Lieutenant ninety Livres, a reform'd Lieutenant is allow'd but forty, and a common Soldier's pay is six *Sous* a Day, of the current Money of the Country.

The People repose a great deal of confidence in the Clergy in this Country as well as elsewhere. Here the outward shew of Devotion is strictly observ'd, for the People dare not absent from the great Masses and Sermons, without a lawful Excuse. But after all, 'tis at the time of Divine Service, that the married Women and Maids give their humours a full loose, as being assur'd that their Husbands and Mothers are busie at Church. The Priests call People by their names in the Pulpit; they prohibit under the pain of Excommunication, the reading of Romances and Plays, as well as the use of Masks, and playing at Ombre or Lanfquenet. The Jesuits [262] and the Recollets agree as ill as the Molinists and the Janfenists.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Laval, first bishop of Quebec, was titular bishop of Petræa, and had a large private fortune; see p. 43, note 2, *ante*. St. Vallier, the second bishop, was abbé of a rich monastery of that name in France. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> The three local divisions of New France. In 1722 the government of Quebec comprised forty-one parishes, Three Rivers thirteen, and Montreal twenty-eight. Frontenac attempted to establish a rudimentary type of self-government, by permitting the inhabitants to elect their local officials; but the autocratic paternalism of the French court reversed these plans, and all officials were thereafter appointed by the King. — ED.

<sup>3</sup> The Molinists and Jansenists were two schools of theologians, the former followers of the Jesuit Molina (1535–1600), the latter those of the Dutch scholar Jansen



The former pretend that the latter have no right to confefs. Do but look back to my eighth Letter, and there you'll fee fome instances of the indifcreet zeal of the Ecclefiasticks.

The Governour General has the difpofal of all Military Pofts; He beftows Companies, Lieutenancies, and Under-Lieutenancies, upon who he pleafes, with his Majefty's gracious Approbation; but he is not allow'd to difpofe of particular Governourfhips, or of the place of a Lord Lieutenant of a Province, or of the Major of any Town. He is impower'd to grant to the Gentry and the other Inhabitants, Lands and Settlements all over *Canada*; but thefe Grants muft be given in concert with the Intendant. He is likewise authoris'd to give five and twenty Licences a year to whom he thinks fit, for trading with the Savage Nations of that vaft Continent. He is invefted with the power of fufpending the execution of Sentences againft Criminals; and by vertue of this Reprieve, can eafily procure 'em a Pardon, if he has a mind to favour 'em. But he can't difpofe of the King's Money, without the confent of the Intendant, who is the only Man that can call it out of the hands of the Treafurer of the Navy.<sup>1</sup>

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(1585-1638). The controversy agitated Western Europe throughout the feventeenth century, involved courts and fociety, and had a profound influence upon French literature. In his later years, Louis XIV, prompted by the Jefuits, persecuted the party of the Jansenists, and finally broke up their retreat at Port Royal. — ED.

<sup>1</sup>The governor-general of Canada, usually a military noble, was commandant of the army, leader of military expeditions, fupreme arbiter of life and death in criminal juftice — in fhort, representative of the king and of paternal government in the colony. For his commiffions, fee *Edits et Ordonnances* (Quebec, 1856), iii, pp. 5-81. On the fubject of licenses (*congés*), fee p. 99, note 1, *ante*. The "Treasurer of the Navy" is the Englifh translator's rendition of the Department of the Marine, which had the colonies in charge. — ED.





The Governour General can't be without the service of the Jesuits, in making Treaties with the Governours of *New-England*, and *New-York*, as well as with the *Iroquese*. I am at a loss to know, whether these good Fathers are employ'd in such Services, upon the score of their judicious Counsels, and their being perfectly well acquainted with the Country, and the King's true interests; or upon the consideration of their speaking to a Miracle, the Languages of so many different Nations, whose interest are quite opposite; or out of a sense of that condescension and submission, that is due to these worthy Companions of our Saviour.<sup>1</sup>

[263] The Members of the supreme Council of *Canada*, can't sell or convey their Places to their Heirs, or to any body else without the King's approbation; though at the same time their places may be worth not so much as the place of a Lieutenant to a Company of Foot.<sup>2</sup> When they have nice points under their consideration, they usually consult the Priests or Jesuits: And if any cause comes before 'em, in which these good Fathers are interests'd, they are sure not to be cast, unless it be so very black, that the cunningest Lawyer can't give it a plausible turn. I've been inform'd by several Persons, that the Jesuits drive a great trade in *European Com-*

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<sup>1</sup> The employment of the Jesuit missionaries as envoys and interpreters was not only due to their skill in languages, but to their large acquaintance with the habits and customs of the Indians, and a certain degree of ascendancy which they had acquired over the latter's minds. The negotiations with New England and New York dealt almost entirely with Indian relations. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> For the sovereign council of New France, see p. 41, note 3, *ante*. In 1703 the title was changed to superior council. In a few cases, the king permitted a son to succeed his father in this office. See Parkman, *Old Regime*, pp. 274, 275. — ED.

modities, and *Canada* Skins; but I can scarce believe it, or at least if it be so, they must have Correspondents and Factors that are as close and cunning as themselves; which can never be.<sup>1</sup>

The Gentlemen of that Country, are oblig'd to be very cautious in carrying even with the *Ecclesiasticks*, in respect of the good or harm that the good Fathers can indirectly throw in their way. The Bishop and the Jesuits have such an influence over the Governours General, as is sufficient to procure places to the Children of the Noblemen or Gentlemen that are devoted to their Service, or to obtain the Licences that I spoke of in my eighth Letter. 'Tis likewise in their power to serve the Daughters of such Gentlemen, by finding 'em agreeable and rich Husbands. The meanest Curates must be manag'd cautiously, for they can either serve or disserve the Gentlemen, in whose Seignories they are no more than Missionaries, there being no fix'd Cures in *Canada*, which indeed is a grievance that ought to be redress'd.<sup>2</sup> The Officers of the Army are likewise oblig'd to keep up a good correspondence with the *Ecclesiasticks*, for without that 'tis impossible for 'em to keep their ground. They must not only take care that their own conduct be regular; but likewise [264] look

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<sup>1</sup> The charge was often made that the missionaries participated in the advantages of the fur-trade. There is evidence that this was sometimes true before 1642; but there was passed about that time a stringent order against it, and they thenceforth almost wholly refrained, except in the case of lay brothers, and an occasional transgressor who was speedily punished. See *Jesuit Relations*, index. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Lahontan probably means that all the parish priests (*curés*) were affiliated with the seminary which Bishop Laval had established; see p. 42, note 1, *ante*. St. Vallier attempted to break up the system, and it was probably in the interest of this movement that Lahontan wrote as above. — Ed.

after that of the Soldiers, by preventing the Disorders they might commit in their Quarters.

Commonly the Troops are quarter'd upon the Inhabitants of the *Cotes*, or Seignories of *Canada*, from *October* to *May*. The Master of the House furnishes his Military Guests only with Utenfils, and employs him all the while at the rate of ten *Sous* a Day besides his Victuals, in the cutting of Wood, grubbing up of Grounds, rooting out Stumps, or the threshing of Corn in a Barn. The Captain gets likewise by their work; for to make 'em discount the half of their pay to him, he orders 'em to come thrice a Week to exercise their Arms at his Quarters. Now, their Habitations being distant four or five *Arpents* from one another, and one *Cote* or Seignory being two or three Leagues in Front, the Soldiers choose rather to give the Captain a spill, than to walk so far in the Snow and the Dirt: And the Captain takes it very conscientiously, upon the plea that *Volenti non fit injuria*. As for such Soldiers as are good Tradesmen, he's sure of putting their whole pay in his Pocket, by vertue of a Licence that he gives 'em to work in the Towns, or any where else. In fine, most of the Officers marry in this Country, but God knows what sort of Marriages they make, in taking Girls with a Dowry, consisting of eleven Crowns, a Cock, a Hen, an Ox, a Cow, and sometimes a Calf. I knew several young Women, whose Lovers, after denying the Fact, and proving before the Judges the scandalous Conversation of their Mistresses, were forc'd upon the perswasion of the *Ecclesiasticks* to swallow the bitter Pill, and take the very same Girls in Marriage. Some Officers

indeed marry well, but there are few such. The occasion of their marrying so readily in that Country, proceeds from the difficulty of conversing with the soft Sex. After a Man has made four Visits to a young Woman, he is oblig'd to unfold his Mind to her Father and Mother; [265] he must then either talk of Marriage, or break off all Correspondence; or if he do's not, both he and she lies under a Scandal. In this Country a Man can't visit another Man's Wife, without being censur'd, as if her Husband was a Cuckold. In fine, a Man can meet with no diversion here, but that of reading, or eating, or drinking. Though after all, there are some Intrigues carry'd on, but with the same caution as in *Spain*, where the vertue of the Ladies consists only in disguising the matter handsomely.

Now, that I am upon the Subject of Marriage, I can't forbear to acquaint you with a comical Adventure that happen'd to a young Captain, who was press'd to marry against his will, because all his Companions and Acquaintances were already buckled. This young Officer having made some Visits to a Counsellor's Daughter, he was desir'd to tell what Errand he came upon; and Mr. *de Frontenac* himself, being related to the young Lady, who is certainly one of the most accomplish'd Ladies of this Age, us'd his utmost efforts to ingage the Captain to marry her. The Captain being equally well pleas'd with a free access to the Governour's Table, and the company of the Lady whom he met there not unfrequently; the Captain, I say, being equally fond of these two Advantages, endeavour'd to ward off the design, by asking some time to consider

of it. Accordingly, two Months were granted him ; and after that time was expir'd, he had still a mind to let out his Traces, and so desir'd two Months more, which were granted him by the Bishop's intercession. When the last of these two was at an end, the Cavalier began to be apprehensive that he was in danger of losing both his good Cheer, and the agreeable company of the Lady. However, he was oblig'd to be present at a Treat that Mr. *Nelson* (the *English Gentleman* I [266] spoke of in my 23<sup>d</sup> Letter) gave to the two Lovers, as well as the Governour, the Intendant, the Bishop, and some other Persons of Note : And this generous *English Gentleman*, having a kindness for the young Ladies Father, and her Brethren, upon the score of their trading with one another, made an offer of a thousand Crowns to be paid on the Wedding Day, which added to a thousand that the Bishop offer'd, and a thousand more which she had of her own, besides seven or eight thousand that Mr. *de Frontenac* offer'd in Licences, not to mention the certain prospect of Preferment ; all these Items, I say, made the Marriage very advantageous to the Captain. After they had done eating, he was press'd to sign the Contract, but made answer, that he had drunk some bumpers of heady Wine, and his Head was not clear enough for weighing the conditions of the Contract ; so that they were forc'd to put off the matter till the next day. Upon this delay he kept his Chamber till Mr. *de Frontenac*, at whose Table he us'd to eat, sent for him in order to know his Mind immediately. Then there was no room left for shuffling ; there was a necessity of giving a positive answer to the Governour, who spoke to him in plain and



precise terms, and at the same time reminded him of the favour they had shewn him, in allowing him so much time to consider of the propos'd Marriage. The young Officer reply'd very fairly, that any Man that was capable of Marrying after four Months deliberation, was a fool in buckling to. 'I now see, 'says he, what I am; the eager desire I had of going to Church 'with Mademoiselle *D.* . . . has now convinc'd me of my folly; 'if you have a respect for the Lady, pray do not suffer her to 'marry a young Spark, that is so apt to take up with extravagant and foolish things. As for my own part, Sir, I protest 'sincerely, that the little reason and free [267] judgment that 'is left me, will serve to comfort me upon the loss of her, and 'to teach me to repent of having desir'd to make her as 'unhappy as my self. This Discourse surpris'd the Bishop, the Governour, the Intendant, and in general, all the other Married Officers, who desir'd nothing more than that he should be catch'd in the noose as well as they; so true it is, that *Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris*. As they were far from expecting any such retraction; so the poor reform'd Captain suffer'd for't; for some time after Mr. *de Frontenac* did him a piece of Injustice, in bestowing a vacant Company over his Head, upon Madam *de Ponchartrain's* Nephew, notwithstanding that the Court had sent orders on his behalf; and this oblig'd him to go for *France* along with me in the year 1692.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Under this thin disguise, Lahontan here relates an episode in his own career. The lady in question was doubtless Geneviève, daughter of Mathieu d'Amours of the sovereign council, whose brothers traded with Nelson, the English merchant — see

To resume the thread of my Discourse: You must know that the *Canadese* or *Creoles*, are a robust brawny well made People; they are strong, vigorous, active, brave and indefatigable; in a word, they want nothing but the knowledge of polite Letters. They are presumptuous, and very full of themselves; they value themselves beyond all the Nations of the Earth, and, which is to be regrated, they have not that veneration for their Parents that is due. Their Complexion is wonderfully pretty. The Women are generally handsom; few of them are brown, but many of 'em are at once wise and lazy. They love Luxury to the last degree, and strive to out-do one another in catching Husbands in the trap.

There's an infinity of disorders in *Canada*, that want to be reform'd. The first step of a true Reformation, must be that of hindring the Ecclesiasticks to visit the Inhabitants so often, and to pry with such impertinence into the minutest affairs of the Family; for such practices are frequently contrary to the good of the Society, and that for reasons [268] that you are not ignorant of. The next thing to be done, is to prohibit the Officers to stop the Soldiers pay, and to injoyn 'em to Discipline their Men every Holy-day, and every Sunday. In the third place, the Commodities ought to be rated at a reasonable price, so that the Merchant may have his profit, without exacting upon the Inhabitants and the Savages. A fourth Article of Reformation, would consist in prohibiting the exporting from *France* to *Canada*, of Brocado's, Gold and

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pp. 265, 311, *ante*. Mademoiselle d'Amours married (1703) Jean Baptiste Céloron de Blainville. For further details, see Roy, *Labontan*, pp. 92, 93. — ED.

Silver Galloons or Ribbands, and rich Laces. In a fifth place, the Governour General ought not to sell Licences for trading with the Savages of the great Lakes. Sixthly, there ought to be fix'd Courts.<sup>1</sup> In the seventh place, they want to have their Militia modell'd and disciplin'd, that upon occasion, they may be as serviceable as the Regular Troops.<sup>2</sup> For an eighth Article, the setting up Manufactories for Linnen, Stuffs, &c. would be very useful.<sup>3</sup> But the most important alteration would consist in keeping the Governours, the Intendants, the supreme Council, the Bishops and the Jesuits, from splitting into Factions, and making Clubs one against another; for the consequences of such Divisions can't but thwart his Majesty's Service, and the Peace of the Publick. Were this but happily effected, that Country would be as rich again as 'tis now.

I wonder that instead of banishing the Protestants out of *France*, who in removing to the Countries of our Enemies,

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<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to know what Lahontan means by "fixed courts," since justice in New France was well administered by a series of such. The sovereign council was the court of appeal; judges held sessions in the three towns of Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec; the seigneurs administered justice in petty disputes; and above all was the jurisdiction of the governor and intendant, the latter holding a special court in his palace, which was known therefrom as the Palace of Justice. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Canadians had served as militia from the foundation of the colony, no regular troops coming out until 1665. In time of war all the male population between the ages of fifteen and sixty was enrolled in the militia, and officers were appointed from each parish, besides general officers for especially exposed localities. In 1691, 1313 Canadians received pay as soldiers — Sulte, *Canadiens français*, vi, 46; vii, 47. — ED.

<sup>3</sup> Unlike the English government, the French authorities stimulated and protected colonial manufactures. But the population was too sparse to accomplish much in this direction. Some cloth had been woven and articles in iron produced, and ship-building had been inaugurated early in the eighteenth century. — ED.

have done so much damage to the Kingdom, by carrying their Money along with 'em, and setting up Manufacturies in those Countries; I wonder, I say, that the Court did not think it more proper to transport 'em to *Canada*. I'm convinc'd, that if they had receiv'd positive assurances of enjoying a liberty of Conscience, a great many of 'em would have made no scruple [269] to go thither. Some have reply'd upon this Head, that the Remedy had been worse than the Disease; in regard that some time or other they would not have fail'd to expel the *Catholicks* by the assistance of the *English*: But I represent'd to 'em, that the *Greeks* and *Armenians*, who are subject to the Grand *Seignior*, and at the same time are of a Nation and Religion that's different from that of the *Turks*; I represent'd, I say, that these dissenting Subjects did scarce ever implore the aid of foreign Powers, in order to rebel and shake off the Yoak. In fine, we have more reason to believe, that if the *Huguenots* had been transported to *Canada*, they had never departed from the fealty they ow'd to their natural Sovereign. But, let that be as it will; I do but speak as that King of *Arragon* did, who boasted, that if God had daign'd to consult him, he could have given him seasonable advice with reference to the symmetry and the courses of the Stars: For in like manner, I do affirm, that if the Council of State had follow'd my Scheme, in the space of thirty or forty years, *New-France* would have become a finer and more flourishing Kingdom, than several others in *Europe*.

*A Discourse of the Interest of the French, and of the English, in North-America.*

SINCE *New-France* and *New-England* subsist only upon the Cod-Fishery, and the Fur-trade, 'tis the interest of these two Colonies to enlarge the number of the Ships employ'd in the Fishery, and to encourage the Savages to hunt and shoot Beavers, by furnishing them with what Arms and Ammunition they have occasion for. 'Tis well known, that there's a great consumption of Codfish in the [270] Southern Countries of *Europe*, and that few Commodities meet with a better and readier Market, especially if they are good and well cur'd.

Those who alledge that the destruction of the *Iroquese*, would promote the interest of the Colonies of *New-France*, are strangers to the true interest of that Country; for if that were once accomplish'd, the Savages who are now the *French* Allies, would turn their greatest Enemies, as being then rid of their other fears. They would not fail to call in the *English*, by reason that their Commodities are at once cheaper, and more esteem'd than ours; and by that means the whole Commerce of that wide Country, would be wrested out of our hands.

I conclude therefore, that 'tis the interest of the *French* to weaken the *Iroquese*, but not to see 'em intirely defeated. I own, that at this day they are too strong, insomuch that they

cut the Throats of the Savages our Allies every day. They have nothing left in view, than to cut off all the Nations they know, let their Situation be never so remote from their Country. 'Tis our business to reduce 'em to one half of the power they are now possess'd of, if 'twere possible; but we do not go the right way to work. Above these thirty years, their ancient Counsellors have still remonstrated to the Warriours of the five Nations, that 'twas expedient to cut off all the Savage Nations of *Canada*, in order to ruine the Commerce of the *French*, and after that to dislodge 'em of the Continent. With this view they have carry'd the War above four or five hundred Leagues off their Country, after the destroying of several different Nations in several places, as I shew'd you before.

'Twould be no difficult matter for the *French* to draw the *Iroquese* over to their side, to keep 'em from plaguing the *French* Allies, and at the same time to ingross all the Commerce with the five *Iroquese* [271] Nations, that is now in the hands of the *English* in *New-York*. This might be easily put in execution, provided the King would allow ten thousand Crowns a year, for that end. The method of effecting it is this. In the first place, the Barques that were formerly made use of about Fort *Frontenac*, must be rebuilt, in order to convey to the Rivers of the *Tsonontouans* and the *Onontagues*, such Commodities as are proper for 'em, and to sell 'em for the prime cost in *France*.<sup>1</sup> Now this would put the King to the

<sup>1</sup> By 1677 La Salle had four vessels upon Lake Ontario, with a capacity of twenty-five to forty tons each. These were all destroyed when Fort Frontenac was abandoned (1689). — ED.

charge of about ten thousand Crowns for freight; and I'm persuaded, that upon that foot the *Iroquese* would not be such fools as to carry so much as one Beaver to the *English* Colonies, and that for four Reasons. The first is, that, whereas they must transport 'em sixty or eighty Leagues upon their backs to *New-York*, they have not above seven or eight Leagues travelling from their own Villages, to the banks of the Lake of *Frontenac*. For a second reason, 'tis manifest that the *English* can't possibly let 'em have their Commodities so cheap, without being considerable losers, and that thereupon every Merchant would drop that sort of Trade. The third is drawn from the difficulty of having Subsistence upon the Road between the *Iroquese* Villages and *New-York*; for the *Iroquese* go thither in great Bodies, for fear of being surpris'd, and I acquainted you before several times, that there's no Venison in that side of the Country. The fourth reason is this. In marching so far from their Villages, they expose their Wives, their Children, and their superannuated Men, for a prey to their Enemies, who upon that occasion may either kill 'em, or carry 'em off; and of this we have two Instances already. Over and above the cheapness of our Commodities, 'twould likewise be requisite that we made 'em Presents every year, and at the same time intreated 'em not to disturb the repose of our [272] Confederate Savages, who are such fools, as to wage War one with another, instead of entering into a joint League in opposition to the *Iroquese*, the most redoubted of their Enemies, and those whom they have most reason to fear. In a word, if we would manage our affairs with the *Iroquese* to

the best advantage, we ought to put in execution that Project that I mention'd in my 23<sup>d</sup> Letter.

To alledge that these *Barbarians* have a dependance upon the *English*, is a foolish Plea : For they are so far from owning any dependance, that when they go to *New-York* to truck their Skins, they have the confidence to put rates upon the Goods they have occasion for, when the Merchants offer to raise their price. I have intimated already several times, that their respect for the *English*, is tack'd to the occasion they have to make use of 'em ; that this is the only motive which induces 'em to treat the *English* as their Brethren, and their Friends ; and that if the *French* would sell 'em the Necessaries of Life, as well as Arms and Ammunition, at easier rates, they would not make many journeys to the *English* Colonies. This is a consideration that ought to be chiefly in our view ; for if we minded it to the purpose, they would be cautious of insulting our Savage Confederates, as well as our selves. The Governours General of *Canada* would do well to imploy the sensible Men of the Country that are acquainted with our Confederates, in pressing 'em to live in a good correspondence with one another, without waging War among themselves ; for most of the Southern Nations worm out one another insensibly, which affords matter of joy to the *Iroquese*. Now, 'twere an easie matter to prevent this fatal mouldering, by threatening to give 'em no further supplies of Commodities in their Villages. To this precaution, we ought to add that of endeavouring to ingage two or three Nations to live together ; [273] the *Outaouas*, for instance, with the *Hurons* ; the *Sakis* with the



*Pouteouatamis*, aliàs *Puants*.<sup>1</sup> If all those Nations who are imbarqued in a Confederacy with us, would but agree one with another, and put up their quarrels, they would give themselves wholly to the hunting of Beavers, which would tend to the enlarging of our Commerce; and besides, they would be in a condition of making one joint Body, when the *Iroquese* offer'd to attack either one or t'other.

'Tis the interest of the *English* to perswade these Nations, that the *French* have nothing less in view, than to destroy them as soon as they meet with an opportunity; that the growing populousness of *Canada*, is a sufficient ground of alarm; that they ought to avoid all Commerce with the *French*, for fear of being betray'd in any way whatsoever; that to hinder the repairing of Fort *Frontenac*, and the rebuilding of Barques for that Lake, is to them a thing of the last Importance, by reason that the *French* might in four and twenty hours, make a Descent from thence to their Villages, and carry off their ancient Men, their Women and their Children, at a time when the Warriours might be engag'd in the hunting of Beavers; That they would promote their own interest by waging War with the *French* from time to time, by ravaging the Seignories and Settlements in the upper part of the Country, in order to oblige the Inhabitants to abdicate the Colony, and to discourage those who would otherwise remove out of *France*, and settle in *Canada*; and in fine,

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<sup>1</sup> Lahontan here confuses two entirely different, though neighbouring, Wisconsin tribes; the Potawatomi were of Algonquian, the Puants (Winnebago) of Siouan stock. — ED.

That in time of Peace 'twould be very proper to stop the *Coueurs de Bois* at the Cataracts of the *Outaouas* River, and to seize the Arms and Ammunition that they carry to the Savages upon the Lakes.

Farther, if the *English* would pursue their measures to the best advantage, they ought to ingage the *Tjonontouans* or the *Goyaguans* to go and settle upon the Banks of the Lake *Erriè*, near the Mouth [274] of the River of *Condè*; and at the same time they ought to build a Fort there, with some long Barques or Brigantines: For this is the most convenient and advantageous Post of all that Country, and that for an infinity of Reasons which I am oblig'd to conceal. Besides this Fort, they should build another at the Mouth of the River *des François*; and then 'twould be absolutely impossible for the *Coueurs de Bois* to reach the Lakes.

They ought likewise to ingage the Savages of *Acadia* in their interest; which they may do with little charge. The Planters of *New-England* should mind this, as well as the fortifying of the Ports in which they fish their Cod. As for the fitting out of Fleets to destroy the Colony, I would not advise the *English* to give themselves that trouble; for supposing they were assur'd of Success, 'tis but some places that can be reckon'd worth the while.

To conclude; I must say the *English* in these Colonies are too careless and lazy: The *French Coueurs de Bois*, are much readier for Enterprises, and the *Canadese* are certainly more vigilant and more active. It behoves the Inhabitants of *New-York* to enlarge their Fur-trade by well concerted Enterprises;

and those of *New-England*, to render the Cod-fishing more beneficial to the Colony, by taking such measures as many other People would, if they were as advantageously seated. I do not intend to speak of the limits of *New-France*, and *New-England*, for they were never well adjusted; though indeed 'twould seem that in several Treaties of Peace between these two Kingdoms, the Boundaries were in a manner mark'd out in some places. Whatever is in that matter, the decision of it is too nice a point for one that can't open his mind without pulling an old House upon his Head.

*The End of the First Volume.*

[275] A TABLE explaining some Terms made  
use of in both Volumes.

A.

**A**STROLABE is a *Mathematical Instrument* that can scarce  
be used in the Ocean by reason of the *Waves*. There are  
two sorts of them. The first are made use of by *East-India*  
*Masters*, at a time when the Sea is as smooth as the face of a  
*Looking-glass*. This sort are serviceable in taking the height  
of the Sun, by the means of two little Pins, which are bor'd so as  
to have two dioptrick Perforations, that serve to conduct the rays  
of light to that Luminary. The latter are such as the *Mathe-*  
*maticians* commonly make use of for *Astronomical Observations*,  
and are furbish'd with *Azimuths*, *Almucantara's*, *Loxodromick*  
*Tables*, and the *Concentrick* and *Excentrick Tables* of the Sphere.

B.

*Bank* of New-found-land, or *Bank* in general, is a rising Ground  
in the Sea, which shoots like a Hat beyond the other brims. The  
*Bank* of New-found-land has thirty or forty Fathom Water,  
and is pav'd with Cod fish.

*Basin*, is a head of stagnating Water, not unlike a Pool or Lake.

*Bouteux* signifies little Nets belag'd to the end of a Stick. The  
*Fishermen* make use of them to catch Fish upon a sandy Ground,  
and especially Eels, upon the side of St. Laurence River.

*Bouts de Quievres, are Nets not unlike Bouteux, which serve for the same use.*

*Breaking ground signifies the weighing Anchor and putting to Sea. Brigantine, a small Vessel one Deck, built of light [276] Wood, which plies both with Oars and Sails. 'Tis equally sharp at Prow and Poop, and is built for a quick Sailer.*

## C.

*Calumet in general signifies a Pipe, being a Norman Word, deriv'd from Chalumeau. The Savages do not understand this Word, for 'twas introduc'd to Canada by the Normans when they first settled there; and has still continued in use amongst the French Planters.<sup>1</sup> The Calumet or Pipe is call'd in the Iroquese Language Ganondaoe, and by the other Savage Nations Poagan. Canadese or Canadans, are the Natives of Canada sprung from a French Father and Mother. In the Islands of South-America the Natives born of French Parents are called Creoles.*

*Capa y d'espada, A Galscogne Title which the People of that Province gave in former times by way of Irony, to the Members of the supreme Council of Canada, because the first Counsellors wore neither Robe nor Sword, but walk'd very gravely with a Cane in their Hands, both in the City of Quebeck, and in the Hall. Casse-tête signifies a Club, or a Head-breaker.<sup>2</sup> The Savages call it Assan Oustick, Oustick signifying the Head, and Assan, to break.*

<sup>1</sup> Strictly speaking, the word calumet (chalumeau) referred only to the reed or stem of the pipe. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> The word casse-tête is usually rendered by the Indian term tomahawk, although more properly a war-club than a hatchet. — ED.

Channel is a space of pretty deep *Water* between two Banks, or between two Shoars. Commonly the Channels are inclosed by Flats, and for that reason Bouys or Mafts are fixt upon 'em, in order to direct the Pilots, who steer either by these Marks, or by sounding, for they would run the risque of loosing their Ships, if they did not keep exactly to the Channel.

Coast along, see Sweep.

Compass of Variation. 'Tis larger than the ordinary Compasses, and serves to point out the unequal Motions of the Needle, which leans always to the North-East in the other Hemisphere, whereas it still plies to the North-West; in this, I mean on this side the Equinoctial line: The [277] Needle touch'd with the Loadstone departs from the true North a certain number of Degrees to the right and left; and Mariners compute the Degrees of its departure by the means of an Albidada, and a thread which divides the Glass of the Compass into two equal parts, and so shews the Variation of the Needle at Sun-set, that being the true proper time for making the Observation; for at Sun-rising, and at Noon, one may be deceiv'd by Refractions, &c.

Coueurs de Bois, i. e. Forest Rangers, are French or Canadese, so call'd from employing their whole Life in the rough Exercise of transporting Merchandize Goods to the Lakes of Canada, and to all the other Countries of that Continent, in order to Trade with the Savages: And in regard that they run in Canows a thousand Leagues up the Country, notwithstanding the danger of the Sea and Enemies, I take it, they should rather be called Coueurs de Risques, than Coueurs de Bois.

## E.

Eddy, or boyling *Water*, is little *Watery Mountains* that rise at the foot of *Water-falls* or *Cataracts*, just as we see the *Water* plays in the *Cisterns* of *Water-works*.

Edge of a *Bank*, is the shelving part of it that runs steep like a *Wall*.

## F.

Fathom, among the French is the measure of six foot.

Feast of Union, a Term us'd by the Iroquese to signify the renewing of the Alliance between the five Iroquese Nations.

Flats are a ridge of Rocks running under *Water* from one Station to another, and rising within five or six foot at least of the Surface of that Element, so as to binder Ships, Barques, &c. to float upon 'em.

Fraight, signifies in this Book the Cargo, tho' in other Cases it signifies likewise the Hire or Fare.

Furl the Sails, signifies the drawing them up to a heap [278] towards the Top-mast, not long ways as we do the Curtains of a Bed, but from below upwards. This is done by two Ropes, that draw up the Sail as a String does a Purse.

## H.

Head-Bars are two round pieces of *Wood*, reaching on each side from one end of a *Canow* to the other. These are the Supporters of the *Canow*, for the *Ribs* and *Spars* are made fast upon them.

## K.

Keel of a Ship, is a long piece of the strongest *Wood*, or at least several pieces joyn'd together, to bear the great weight of all the other *Timber*.

Kitchi Okima, is the general Name for the Governour General of Canada among all the Savages, whose Languages approach to that of the Algonkins. Kitchi signifies Great, and Okima, Captain. The Iroquese and Hurons call the Governor General Onnontio.

## L.

Latitude. Every Body knows that it imports the Elevation of the Pole, or the distance from a fix'd Point of the *Æquator*.

Land-carriage signifies the transporting of Canows by Land from the Foot to the Head of a Cataract, or from one River to another.

Light Ships are such as are empty, without any Cargo.

## P.

Poop is the Stern or After-part of the Ship in which the Rudder is fix'd.

Precipice of a Bank, see Edge.

Prow is the Head or Fore-part of a Ship, which cuts the Water first.

## Q.

Quarter. Tho' the Word Quarter in a Maritime Sense, is not well explain'd; I put the meaning of it to be this. [279] The North Quarter comprehends the space that lies between North-West and North-East. The East Quarter runs from North-East to South-East. The South Quarter comprehends that part of the Heavens that falls between South-East and South-West: And the West Quarter extends from South-West to North-West.



## R.

*Refitting of a Ship, signifies the repairing and dressing of it, and putting it into a Condition to sail, by putting in new Planks, caulking the Seams, &c.*

*Ribs of a Canow, are much like those of a Pink, only there's this difference, that they line the Canow only on the in-side from one Head Bar to another, upon which they are inchas'd. They have the thickness of three Crowns, and the breadth of four Inches.*

*Ruche, an Instrument for fishing, resembling a Bee-hive.*

## S.

*Scurvy, is a Corruption of the Mass of Blood. There are two sorts of it; one call'd the Land Scurvy, which loads a Man with Infirmities that gradually bring him to his Grave; the other is the Sea Scurvy, which infallibly kills a Man in 8 days unless he gets a-shoar.*

*Shieve, i. e. Row the wrong way, in order to assist the Steersman to steer the Boat, and to keep the Boat in the Channel.*

*Shoot. To shoot a Water-fall or Cataract, implies the running a Boat down these dangerous Precipices, following the stream of the Water, and steering very nicely.*

*Sledges are a Conveniency for travelling, built in an oblong quadrangular form, upon two pieces of Wood, which are 4 foot long, and 6 foot broad; upon the Wood there are several pieces of Cloath or Hide nail'd to keep the Wind off. These two pieces of Wood are very hard, and well smooth'd, that they may slide the better on Snow or Ice. Such are the Horse Sledges. But those drawn by Dogs are open, and made of two little pieces of hard smooth, and shining Wood, which are half an Inch thick, 5 foot long, and a foot and a half broad.*

[280] *Spars are little pieces of Cedar Wood, of the thickness of a Crown, and the breadth of 3 Inches, and as long as they can be made. They do the same Service to a Canow, that a good lining does to a Coat.*

*Stand in for Land, signifies to sail directly towards it.*

*Steer a Ship, imports the managing of a Ship by the means of a Rudder, (as we do a Horse with a Bridle) when there's Wind enough to work her; but if there be no Wind, a Ship is more unmoveable than a Gouty Person in an Elbow Chair.*

*Stem a Tide or the Current of a River, i. e. to sail against the Current, or to steer for the place from whence the Tides or Currents come.*

*Strike, to strike the Sails or Flag signifies the lowering of 'em, whether it be to submit to an Enemy, or by reason of high Winds.*

*Sweep a Coast, signifies to sail along the Coast side at a reasonable distance.*

## T.

*Top-gallant-Masts are two little Masts set upon the two Top-Masts, and have two Sails fitted for 'em.*

*Top-Sails are two Sails fitted for the two Top-Masts, which stand directly above the two great Masts.*

*Traverse. To traverse signifies sailing Zigzag, or from side to side as a drunken Man reels, when the Wind is contrary, for then they are oblig'd to tack sometimes to the right, and sometimes to the left, keeping as near to the Wind as they can, in order to make what way they can, or at least to prevent their losing Ground.*

*Tree of Peace, a Symbolick Metaphor for Peace it self.*

[End of Volume I.]









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